







VIOLET-LE-DUC AND THE RATIONAL GOTHIC
TRADITION

by

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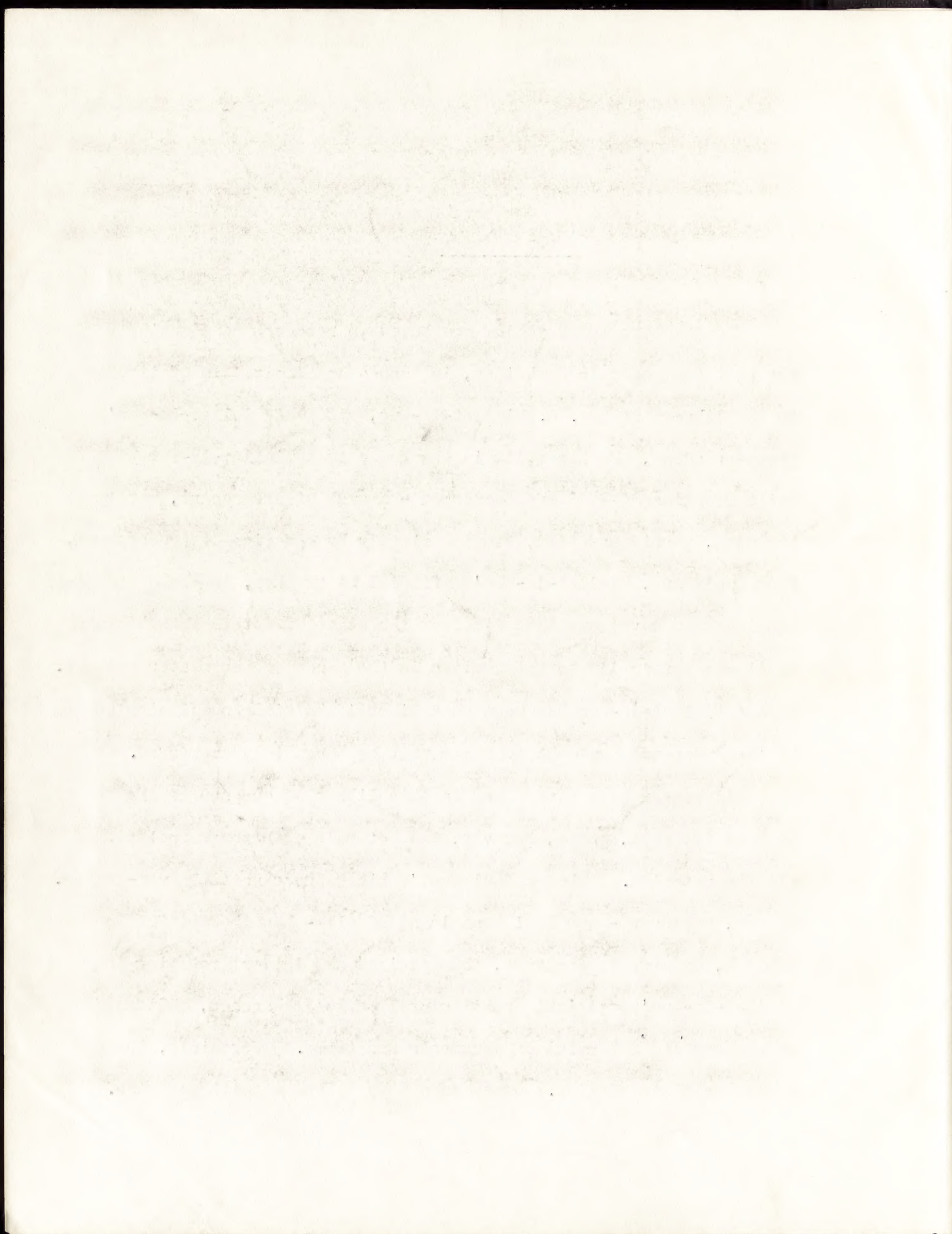
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PREFACE

The chapters which follow are based on research done during the past few years in Cambridge, in London and Paris; in particular in the library of Mme. G. Viollet-le-Duc, widow of Viollet-le-Duc's great-grandson, who has still in the house that Viollet-le-Duc built for himself - 68 rue Condorcet - a mass of his papers, partly arranged, partly unsorted, studied already by a series of researchers, from Paul Gout, Viollet-le-Duc's official biographer, to those archaeologists who have sought to discover the state of Gothic architecture as it was before its transformation in the hands of the master restorer. Madame Viollet-le-Duc has been most liberal and kind in allowing access to these papers; my debt to her cannot be adequately expressed.

All researchers have found in this library documents of the highest interest; none, however, has yet made a thorough analysis of all the material. Though Paul Gout's biography cannot be over-praised. No one, moreover - and Paul Gout least of all - has thought fit to publish, or even to describe, the drawings and letters relating to Viollet-le-Duc's original architectural works: churches, châteaux and houses and a handful of monuments and tombs. Certainly, these works are disappointing. They cannot be looked at with pleasure.



Yet they command attention, for they reveal the nature of Viollet-le-Duc's creative imagination, together with that of the whole band of disciples who worked with him. They were, as they themselves realised, unable to interpret with grace or real style the doctrines of Viollet-le-Duc, but they displayed nonetheless a sincerity revealing of the quality of their convictions and showed something of the formal, imaginative demands of their age. They would scarcely have been satisfied by our present-day interpretation, in architectural terms, of Viollet-le-Duc's ideas. All, or almost all, of Viollet-le-Duc's original designs, drawn up and executed often by his disciples, A. de Baudot and E. Duthoit, are illustrated thus and listed in an appendix.

My chapters are not marked by that harmony and steady consistency of thought which should distinguish an essay on the history of taste. The mass of new material available, not only in the form of original documents and drawings but also in the form of unread books and magazines, has made my work turgid and long. My main purpose has become often obscure, though I had thought that I knew what I wanted to say - to trace the development of the Classical tradition in France, to see it debased during the early years of the nineteenth century, to be seized upon in part - and its most curious part - by Viollet-le-Duc, tossed into the Romantic melting-pot, stirred around, to emerge eventually purified, to invigorate the architecture of the twentieth century and to stimulate



vitally such men as Perret and, later, Le Corbusier. They were enabled by Viollet-le-Duc to perceive once again the Classical ideal. Viollet-le-Duc's achievement is thus in the nature of a paradox. His relationship to Cordemoy, the prophet of French Neo-classicism, if not international Neo-classicism, and Soufflot and Laugier, will come most probably as a surprise. Viollet-le-Duc's Gothic predilections have been too often stressed.

My task has been a difficult one, and I may easily have failed. If so, I have acknowledge my fault and ask for indulgence. Certainly, I could not have been more helpfully advised and encouraged; my special thanks are due to Professor Pevsner, my supervisor. Professor Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Mr. John Summerson have tried often to stimulate and inspire me, Professor Anthony Blunt has most kindly allowed me to read part of his manuscript on Philibert de l'Orme - since published - to all of these I would like to express my gratitude. But no less thanks are due also to M. Dupont and Mme. Grodekai of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, who pleaded on my behalf with Madame Georges Viollet-le-Duc when it was thought that I had handled original documents in too cavalier a fashion; to Mademoiselle Defarges of the Musée des Monuments Français, who permitted me to study the many drawings by Viollet-le-Duc and his pupil, De Baulot, in the museum; to Mme. Fasquelle



and M. A. Gilou of Connaissance des Arts, who arranged for a number of photographs of Viollet-le-Duc's buildings to be taken; and to Mrs. Gifford, my typist, who has probably had to show the most patience of all.





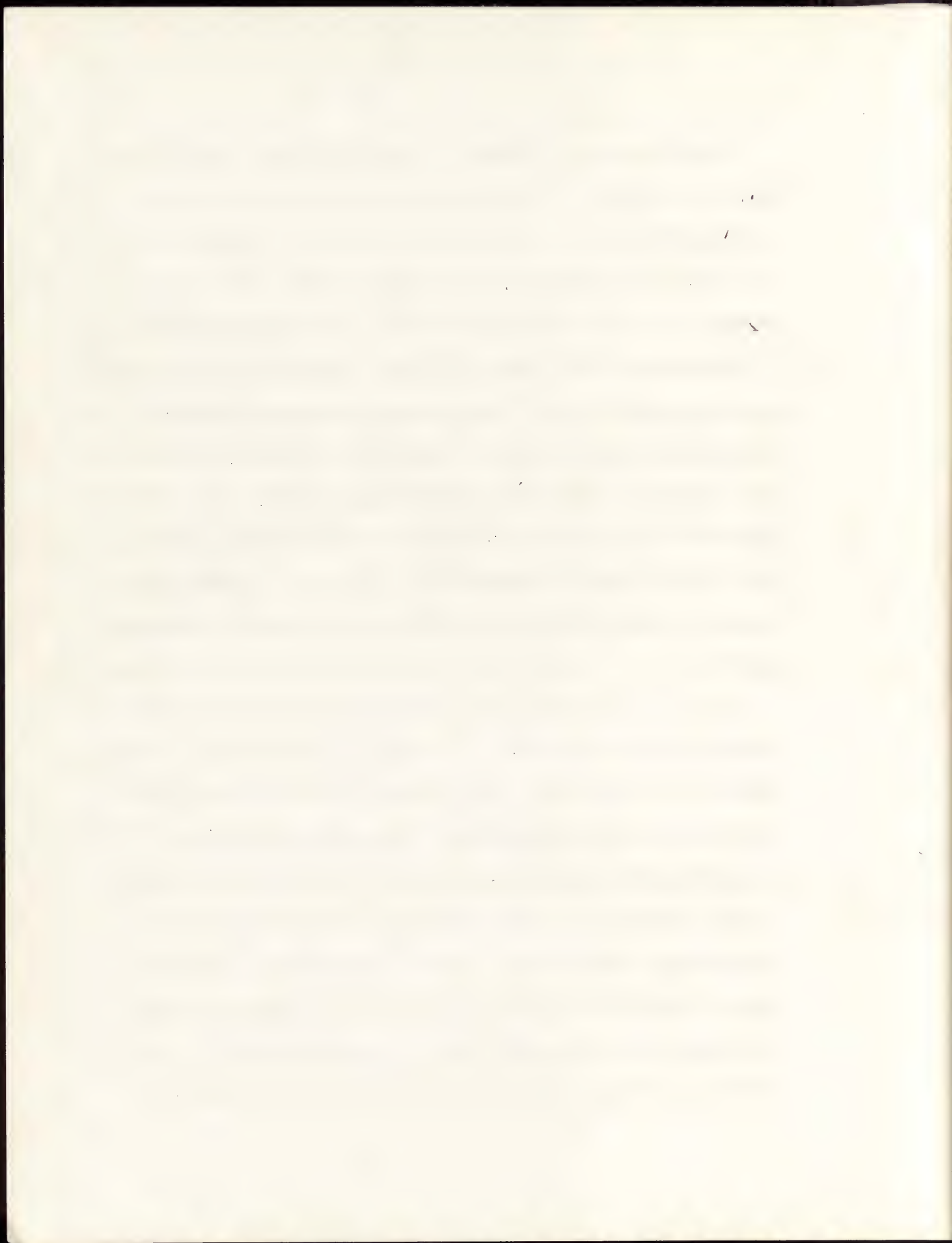


VIOLLET - le - DUC: an Introductory Sketch



Viollet-le-Duc is a difficult man to know and, therefore, to like. His published writings are as impersonal as any man, daily confirming himself in the correctness of a grave sagacity, could make them. His surviving correspondence is vast, but equally unrevealing. Nor is mention made often in contemporary works of his qualities or entertaining oddities; and when on occasion, his appearance at a dinner or soiree is noted, comment is terse. Even Sainte Beuve, that most perceptive of critics, who knew him through life and had known his father before him, could add no sharpness of touch to his portrait - he chose in the 'Nouveaux Lundis' to write rather of Viollet-le-Duc's 'Entretiens sur l'Architecture', a task, as he must have realised, for which he was hopelessly unsuited.

Paintings and pictures of Viollet-le-Duc are almost as unrewarding of the inner man. A sketch by Monvoisin shows him, at twenty, dark-eyed, animated and pleasant, but not in the least an intriguing person, sitting with an unconscious air of assumption and happy pride in his youth. A camera study of 1865 shows him a nobly preserved, somewhat less humane and certainly less lively, personality. Grim, brown and bearded, he seems at once a most estimable member of the bourgeoisie, capable of doing his duty and progressing through life without calamity - but the eyes reveal a resident sorrow, lingering and deeply disturbing. He



I 2 4 was not a happy man. Other likenesses - a bust belonging to his great-grand-daughter, Madame Georges Viollet-le-Duc, a portrait carved on the portal of the chapel at Pierrefonds, and a photograph, often adduced, by Longuet - all represent him as the sage. There is evident honesty, self-respect and real power of a rough kind in the domed brow, the cavernously socketed eyes and the grizzled beard; but the total bodily and spiritual presence of the man is that of all those archetypal prophets preserved for us in drawings or nineteenth century camera studies - Leonardo, Darwin, Tolstoy, Walt Whitman and Viollet-le-Duc reduced to a common level of venerability. Paul Gout, his biographer, who knew him in the last years of his life, adds some vividness of description to this image; but can only hint at the personality beneath. 'Nous voyons toujours cette tête', he writes, 'que ni burin ni le ciseau ni même la photographie n'ont jamais reproduite, avec ce je ne sais quoi qui révélait à la fois la race et le génie: un front large et plein, qu'une légère calvitie agrandissait seulement un peu, sans lui ôter le cadre d'argent de ses cheveux ondulés; de grands yeux d'un bleu clair, où brillait une flamme limpide tempérée par de la bien veillance; un regard pensif et profond qui se fixait sur l'interlocuteur, comme pour l'obliger à la concision (qui savait plus que lui le prix du temps?); le visage d'un ovale parfait, le nez droit



et fort, la barbe entière, recouvrant sans les cacher des joues un peu amaigries par une nourriture d'ascète, la moustache arrondie sur la lèvre supérieure; un cou dégagé et souple; une main fine, nerveuse, parlante, dont il jouait avec une certaine coquetterie.'

6 Nor, perhaps, is it surprising that neither the descriptions of his friends, nor his own writings should prove revealing of his inner nature. Indeed, the curious point in Viollet-le-Duc's nature is its utter inwardness. In his early youth he learned to hide his feelings and through life he remained reserved. He was shy to the point of rudeness. He disliked idle conversation - though he was, for a time, an assiduous frequenter of the salons of the Princesse Mathilde and the Empress Eugénie. When he spoke it was in order to clarify an issue or offer a judgement. For he was not reluctant in committing himself. Both in speaking and in writing he made his unambiguous pronouncements; expressed in the most lucid and succinct style. He hated rococo twists and unnecessary phrases - 'Les phrases, les phrases,' he wrote, 'ce sont elles qui ont largement contribué à propager des idées fausses en matière d'art, en matière d'architecture surtout.'

But this dislike was equally part of a fear that he might one day reveal the inner springs of his nature. He liked best his silent, secretive, chain-smoking self.



Not, it seems, that Viollet-le-Duc need have feared much. He appears a model of nineteenth century virtue. His integrity was rarely called in doubt. He despised all personal means of gain and devious methods of influence and persuasion. He was straightforward and perfectly sincere in his dealings - often, indeed, tactlessly so, for he had a stern way of upsetting conventional ideas and disregarding established reputations that won for him many enemies. But though attacked in return and often provoked to fury, he never resorted to malicious plotting and revenge. And if his air of high-minded magnanimity took him a pace or two out of this world, it invested his actions with a noble simplicity - already, at thirty-five, he had attained to 'la Gloire', he wore the ribbon of the Legion of Honour.

Yet he retained always a deep-seated and, probably, healthy mistrust for his abilities. He was over-sensitive in matters of criticism. He hated to show his sensitivity. He tried through life to suppress his emotions; and though a few friends knew him as a pleasant and kindly man, he was remembered rather for

7 his gruffness and bluntness of manner. Even at home he was
restrained and awkward. Though he did, at times, relax. Amusing

8 his grand-children with sketches and stories he became - almost -

9 a loveable man. Playing with cats he was yet more tender. But



he reserved his most poignant tenderness for nature and music. In the country he was a complete Wordsworthian, caressing plants and shuddering to see an insect crushed. Listening to his friend, Armaingault, the violinist, playing Schumann, he was moved to tears.

But ruthlessly - very ruthlessly - he sought to suppress his sensitivity. He ridiculed himself in private - in cartoons and caricatures. Drawing after drawing shows him a 'greenery-yallery, Grosvenor-gallery, foot-in-the-grave young man' - long-haired and languid, gaping at a flower or fondling a ruin. With more self-pity he represented himself the simpering servant of his wife and his mother-in-law, or the martyr to architecture. One cartoon shows him dismally dragging his T-square to calvary -

11 'Chacun,' he wrote, 'porte son tache'. But his humour was not
12 of the freely flowing tolerant variety - 'Il avait,' wrote Philippe Burty in the 'Republique Francaise', 'la fine tenacite et la mordante ironie du Parisien'. He could never take a jest. Indeed he even gave up teaching when he found his students caricaturing him. And one may record a contrived comic incident, extremely trivial, which took place in his early thirties; which, in spite of its triviality, underlines the little lightness and

13 charm of his humour. Staying with a friend, Tournai, a chemist and amateur archaologist, at Narbonne, he one day drew a portrait



of Saint Veronica on an egg, covered the portrait with grease and dipped the egg into acid. The portrait was thus given a slight relief. The egg was placed in a pious neighbour's hen-house where it was found and acclaimed as an object of miracle. It burst, stinking and rotten, a few days later, during a service, to Viollet-le-Duc's great delight.

But humour, either in the form of caricatures or practical jokes was of little import in suppressing his sensitivity. He had neither the mind nor the inclination to expose the weaknesses of the world with wit, or to mock at his own short-comings to any real purpose. He found forgetfulness and soothed his sensibilities with work. At once and forever he was an unfailing worker. His
14 obituarists all remembered him as a worker - 'Rarement un homme aussi bien doué fut en même temps un aussi grand travailleur', wrote Henry Fouquier in 'Le XIX^e Siècle' - 'Viollet-le-Duc a été
15 un des artistes les plus laborieux qu'il y ait jamais eu dans le monde' said Francisque Sarcey, the editor, in the same magazine.

16 'Nulla dies sine linea' was his motto; and his friends and family warned him repeatedly of the consequences of such an
17 obsession - 'ne vous exterminiez pas de travail' - his close friend Prosper Mérimée often advised him. But Viollet-le-Duc remained
18 indefatigably active. Whatever he saw was remembered - "Il avait une des plus vastes mémoires qu j'aie jamais connues", wrote



Francisque Sarcey in *Le XIX^e Siècle*, et toujours présente' - whatever he thought was noted; and whether engaged in conversation, travelling or even eating, he would set down as sketches or notes, his ideas, to be developed later in drawings, articles and books. And of his books, so wise in their estimate of an incredible range of subjects, one can speak only in awe. Regardless even of their content, they demand admiration - there are two Dictionnaires, running into sixteen volumes - 'Entretiens sur l'Architecture' - 'De la Décoration appliquée aux édifices' - five popular studies on architecture, a study of Russian architecture, introductions to various books, a number of small historical studies and an account of the formation of Mont Blanc. To this total one must add, literally, thousands of articles. And all this apart from his occupations as architect to the 'Commission des Monuments Historiques' and the 'Service des Edifices Diocésains'; for then he restored the Madeleine at Vézelay, Notre Dame and the Sainte Chapelle, S. Denis, the Salle Synodale at Sens, the Hotel de Ville at Narbonne, Saint Sernin at Toulouse, the cathedral at Amiens, the church at Clermont Ferrand, the fortifications of Carcassonne and a host of minor mediaeval buildings. Then there was the heavy-handed fantasia of the Chateau de Pierrefonds for Louis Napoleon and later, the restoration of the cathedral at Lausanne, one of his severest works.



Those almost legendary characteristic nineteenth century powers of application could not alone have accounted for this staggering output. Viollet-le-Duc was relentlessly driven by a terror of idleness - 'il pardonnait tout à ses collaborateurs,'
19 said Francisque Sarcey, 'tout, sauf la paresse' - His life was to the highest degree organized so that there was not a moment of leisure. 'Je me distribue à moi même la besogne,' Viollet-le-
20 Duc himself wrote, 'd'une façon mathématique; j'ai reconnu que c'était le seul moyen. Si à l'heure dite je n'ai pas terminé ma tâche, n'importe je passe à une autre, quitte à la reprendre le lendemain.' He ensured a steady flow of work. But equally, he achieved an evenness of style in his writing and a mechanical precision in his drawing that makes his works, at times, dull. Yet, even had he recognized this fact, he would not probably have minded. He mistrusted evidence of both enthusiasm and intermittent moods of lassitude almost more than anything else. The routine that he developed and perfected in his later years is particularly interesting. At seven each morning he entered
21 his studio in the house that he built for himself in the rue Condorcet. The studio was a vast room, windows at either end, bookshelves on the side walls, littered with drawings and papers. The furniture was to his own design, faintly mediaeval in style, but noteworthy mainly on account of its dull sienna colouring and its stopped-chamfered-mitred mouldings. He dressed in a



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blue smock and a black silk cap, something like a cardinal's biretta. For two hours he wrote articles, essays and books or drew - intent always to do as much of the work that went through his architectural office as possible. At nine o'clock the studio was opened to callers. Artists and editors, contractors and craftsmen, students and stray admirers came unasked and entered uninvited - no one was able to make an appointment and no one was expected to knock at the door. All were received with a serene and thus, slightly offensive, courtesy and calm. Viollet-le-Duc listened carefully and both conscientiously and with real interest in his task, made his pronouncements with gravity, in a deep-keyed voice. At ten precisely, the doors were closed. Sitting at his desk he took a light meal: two eggs, some pate and a cup of tea. He then returned to his work and, unless interrupted by a committee meeting or a necessary tour of inspection, continued diligent until five o'clock. He then took dinner and made infrequent calls to his friends. At eight o'clock he returned and until midnight worked in his library. Daily then, he constantly and unflinchingly gave ten hours to work and four hours to reading. Even when he travelled he was careful to do so at night in order not to waste time. No wonder that his wife, as Viel Castel so maliciously noted, felt sometimes neglected.



Qualities like sagacity and diligence command respect,
but do not endear a man - students, workmen and fellow architects
even, called Viollet-le-Duc 'le patron', but few, very few, were
22 his friends. 'Il avait l'égoïsme des grands travailleurs,'
Francisque Sarcey accurately noted, 'Il aimait les gens, mais
par rapport à la besogne qu'il avait entreprise; très disposé
à leur être agréable, mais à la condition qu'ils fussent utiles.'
Though he won their admiration he could not move their hearts
unless it was to pity. And even admiration, he realized with
23 bitterness as he grew older, could not be counted on - "le
proverbe 'Nul n'est prophète en son pays' est toujours vrai",
he wrote.

Work ultimately blunted his emotions, but it left him as
sensitive as ever in his inward soul. Though he succeeded in
presenting to the world a calculated, controlled exterior, the
consistent attempt to conquer his sensitivity and conceal his
disappointments served to maim him. He crushed his sensibilities
with the power of his mind, but he remained as vulnerable as
ever. Yet no sudden conversion was then possible to him, either
to the joys of relaxation or emotion. To the very last
he continued implacable, sternly independent and partly proud;
explaining with accuracy all that was explicable in the universe,
arguing the inexplicable into the plausible with great energy



and effort of mind; for the rest forbidding himself any dangerous field of enquiry. 'Tout par la raison' was his
24 creed. 'Il parlait peu de ses affaires', the indefatigable Francisque Sarcey wrote, 'J'ignore si c'était modestie, indifférence ou mépris; ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'il ne se livrait guère. Il était de même dans ses rapports avec ses élèves et ses entrepreneurs, fort retiré et fort secret.' Those of his contemporaries who knew him late in life, would glimpse him in the street, an oddly stylish, rather tall figure, correctly but carelessly dressed in a stove-pipe hat - not new - a high-buttoned black frock-coat - frayed and rubbed - bearing on the lapel the rosette of the Legion of Honour. He seemed always in a hurry.

And this image one should for the moment retain; for the fine rather elusive figure that it offers is but slowly revealed in further detail in the course of the chapters that follow. The facts of his background and early life gathered and pieced together in chapter three are not strikingly revealing of either his mind or his personality. But they are important for the light they throw on his intellectual development and, in particular, on the evolution of his finally formulated ideas. Nor is it to detract from these ideas to say that they are most valuable when judged in relation to the tradition of thought in which they belong. For despite his self-consciously maintained independence of mind,



Viollet-le-Duc's strength lies not in his isolation but in his ability to gather the theories and concepts of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century French architects into the intellectual and critical movements of those of the nineteenth century, and thus, ultimately, to formulate an architectural theory that has served to inspire most architectural innovators of the twentieth century - from Frank Lloyd Wright to Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe.

But, whether in the history of a man or a movement, it is difficult to trace steadily through successive years the development of a complex theory; at times some forces are failing while others strengthen and most act irregularly or at uncorresponding intervals of time. Some moreover are but imperfectly understood - accepted traditions urgently requiring the fullest exposition. Certainly the influence of eighteenth century French rationalists was strong on Viollet-le-Duc and is not thus to be lightly explained. Equally, his taste was - through life - ruled by Romantic predilections, which require, therefore, more than a cursory glance. For all clearness of exposition it is necessary then to follow the course of first one and then the other movement, without confusing notice of what is happening in other directions. The first chapter of the thesis deals thus with the evolution of Neo-classicism in eighteenth century France, while the second is devoted to the



history of Gothic archaeology and its relationship to the
Romantic Revival. Only then can we pass safely on to Viollet-
le-Duc and his ideas in relation to the age in which he lived.

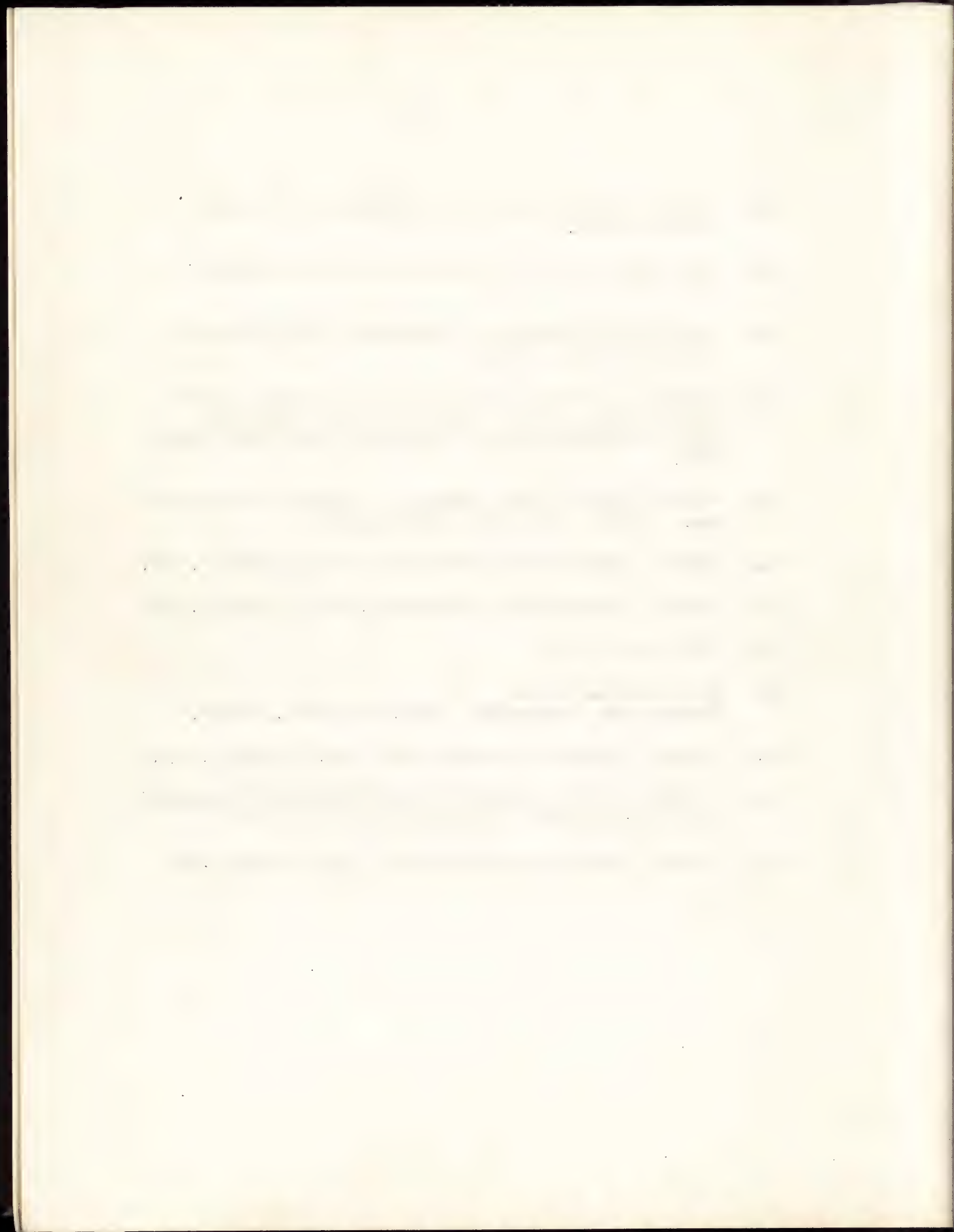


NOTES: for the introduction

1. Sainte-Beuve 'Nouveaux Lundis', Paris 1867, VII.
2. This drawing is in the possession of Madame Georges Viollet-le-Duc. cf. Paul Gout 'Viollet-le-Duc. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine', Paris 1914, p.27, fig.10.
3. Belonging to Mme. G. Viollet-le-Duc.
cf. Gout, op. cit. 23, fig. 21 - this photograph might, in fact, be that taken in 1861 by Bisson freres and advertised for sale at 1 fr. 25 c. in the 'Encyclopédie d'Architecture', April 1861.
4. Belonging to Mme. G. Viollet-le-Duc.
cf. Gout, op. cit. frontispiece.
5. Gout, op. cit. 65.
6. Gout, op. cit.
'Lettres Inédites de Viollet-le-Duc recueillées et annotées par son fils.' Paris 1902, p. XX, XXI.
7. 'Lettres Inédites' introduction.
Gout, op. cit. 34 ff.
8. Gout, op. cit. 96, fig. 22.
'Exposition de l'oeuvre de Viollet-le-Duc à l'Hôtel de Clugny', Paris 1893, n. 577.
9. He drew innumerable pictures of cats playing, many of these sketches are lying in cupboards at the home of Madame G. Viollet-le-Duc. Some were even reproduced cf. Champfleury 'l'Histoire de la Caricature'.
10. All these caricatures are in the possession of Madame G. Viollet-le-Duc.
11. Reproduced 'l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui' no. 2, Dec. 1930 p.5 with the incorrect caption 'Chaucan porte son Te'.
12. quoted from 'Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment', Sept. 28th, 1879, p. 233.



13. Written out in a sketch-book belonging to Mme. G. Viollet-le-Duc.
14. quoted from Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment' Sept. 28, 1879, p. 234.
15. quoted from 'Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment', Sept. 28, 1879, p. 235.
16. Though it is fair to add that it was a common enough motto at the period; Charles Clement claimed it even for Géricault, cf. 'Gazette des Beaux Arts' XXII, 1867.
17. Pierre Trahard 'Prosper Mérimée. Lettres à Viollet-le-Duc. 1839 - 1870', Paris 1927, p. 147.
18. quoted. 'Gazette des Architectes', Oct. 5 1879, p. 237.
19. quoted. 'Gazette des Architectes'. Oct. 5 1879, p. 237.
20. Gout, op.cit. 64.
21. Gout, op.cit. 64 ff.
'Gazette des Architectes' Sept. 28 1879 p. 231 ff.
22. quoted. 'Gazette des Architectes' Oct. 5 1879, p. 238.
23. F. Narjoux and E. Viollet-le-Duc 'Habitations Modernes,' Vol. I, Paris 1875, description of, pp. 65 - 69.
24. quoted. 'Gazette des Architectes' Oct. 5 1879, p. 238.



CHAPTER I

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION 1700 - 1830

1 There is no background so solid, no starting point so firm for the study of nineteenth century architecture in France as that provided by Jacques Francois Blondel (1705 - 1774); a nephew of Francois Blondel, an architect of the most commonplace, classical kind. During the 1760's he built the bishop's palace at Cambrai, the Hotel de Ville and cathedral precinct at Metz - now largely destroyed - and designed a new layout for Strasbourg on an ambitious scale, but saw only a saluting-base erected. These extremely thoughtful and sensitive designs, however, are lacking in those



qualities of confidence and assurance requisite for success. Blondel asserted his authority rather as a teacher. In 1743, after some slight protest from the Académie Royale de l'Architecture, he opened the first independent architectural school in Paris.

- 2 There he taught, intermittently, for the rest of his life. The course was complex and full: from 8 to 2 in the morning, from 3 to 9 in the evening, summer and winter, he gave his instruction - design and perspective drawing - modelling, measuring and draughting - 'la coupe des pierres' - estimates and quantities - mathematics, mechanics and hydraulics - and encouraged his students to design, in addition to the normal range of châteaux, hôtels and churches, a host of utilitarian structures - barracks and fortresses - hospitals and prisons - dockyards and lighthouses. Twice a week, during April and May, he took his students out to look at existing buildings. This curriculum, infinitely more effective than that provided by Denis Jossenay and, later, Lorient at the École de l'Académie, attracted many students from that school; but Blondel
- 2a was the last man to set himself in opposition to the Academy; in 1755 he was elected a member of that historic and venerable institution, and on 1st October 1762 he was made a professor.

His influence as a teacher was enormous, he dominated the world of architectural theory. His lessons stimulated at least one generation of students: his ideas were assimilated by many



more who had never even heard him speak, and survived far into the nineteenth century in the teachings of Percier and Fontaine and
3 their fashionable followers. The numerous books and pamphlets in which he recorded his ideas, moreover, were eagerly read by his successors, for they appeared to epitomize all the soundest doctrines of the past.

Blondel was the master of William Chambers in England; of architects in Russia and Switzerland; and a whole school of sound, conservative practitioners in France; but, in addition, he taught those more original, if more inconstant leaders of late eighteenth century taste - Marie-Joseph Peyre and Charles de Wailly - Jacques Gondoin, Théodore Brongniart and Louis-Jean Desprez - Jean-Baptiste Rondelet - and the radicals Etienne-Louis Boullée and Claude-
4 Nicholas Ledoux. 'Blondel', his disciple Pierre Patte wrote in 1777, 'à réussi à préparer par ses instructions, la révolution qui s'est faite depuis vingt ans dans le goût de notre architecture'. But he was not a revolutionary. His writings give no evidence of original and idiosyncratic passion. The spirit of his teaching was in harmony with late eighteenth century tendencies. However, he allowed his taste to be inflected by the enthusiasms of his contemporaries. It changed in emphasis through successive years, evolving always towards an ideal of simplicity and restraint. Blondel was not, however, inspired to give any particular impetus to the Neo-Classical movement - neither in the pursuit of a sense of honest, economic



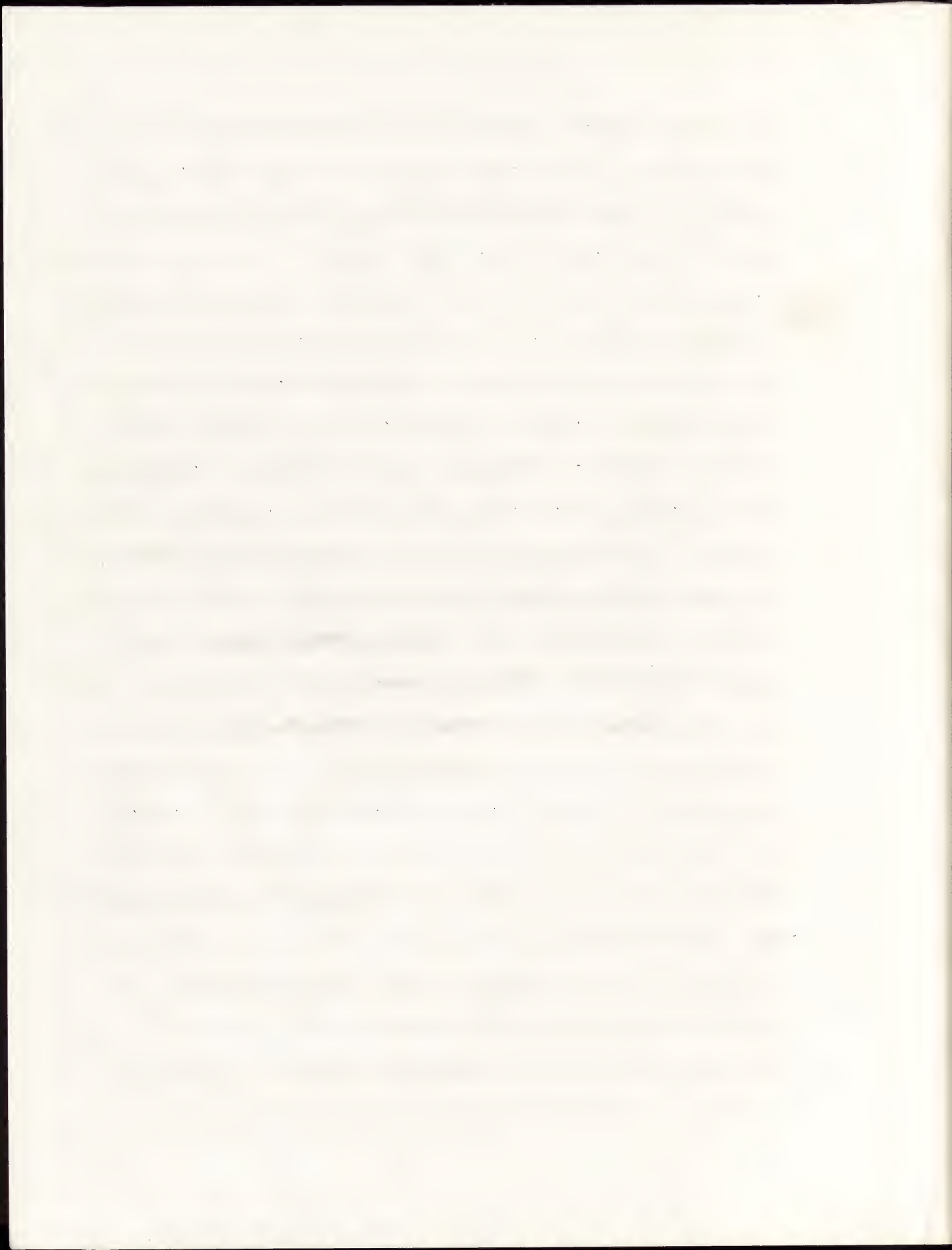
expression, nor in the search for a new inspiration from the ancient world. His interest in construction, for instance, was at first languid and uncertain, and though his teachings later reflected the current concern for structural refinement, he was not entirely
5 persuaded - 'la magie de l'art veut des bornes,' he said, 'trop de hardiesse étonne plus qu'elle satisfait'. Likewise he upheld
6 the Vitruvian tradition of Greek superiority in all his writings - 'il faut avouer', he wrote as early as 1737, 'qu'ils (les Grecs) ont été les premiers qui ayent donné de la grace à l'architecture; qu'il a été presque impossible de rien ajouter d'important à leurs proportions, et que les règles qu'ils nous ont laissées sont encore observées aujourd'hui par nos plus habiles architectes' -
7 in 1752 he declared, 'la Grèce doit être regardée comme la source des règles de la bonne architecture', - and in 1771 he said, 'on
8 peut regarder les Grecs comme les créateurs de l'architecture proprement dite, et les considérer comme les premiers qui ayent été dignes d'avoir des imitateurs' - but though he warmly approved the feeling for simplicity and even severity, that the renewed enthusiasm for Greece and her monuments brought into play in the
9 second half of the century, he inclined to be more critical and cautious once the enthusiasm became widespread. Roman imitation pleased him even less.

10 'Les connaissances qu'il a fallu aux Anciens', he wrote towards the end of his life, 'pour élever leurs monuments, ont de quoi étonner; cependant, malgré les grands exemples qu'ils nous



ont laissés, il n'en est pas moins vrai que les changements arrivés dans nos usages, la différence du climat et la diversité de nos matières, semblent nous avoir forcés à créer, pour ainsi dire, un nouvel art pour élever des édifices relatifs à nos besoins: d'ailleurs, il en faut convenir, nous envisageons le spectacle de la nature autrement qu'eux. Tout est changé, les mœurs, les dieux, la politique; ces changements ont du nécessairement en produire dans les édifices que nous élevons; c'est pourquoi il serait peut-être déraisonnable de vouloir aujourd'hui élever chez nous des édifices précisément dans le goût de l'antique; une pareille imitation serait presque la censure de nos productions. Sans doute, les ouvrages des anciens seront toujours des chefs-d'oeuvre; mais ils ne peuvent nous servir de modèles; leurs artistes peuvent bien nous apprendre à penser; mais nous ne devons pas penser comme eux. Tous les peuples ont un caractère, une manière de sentir qui leur est propre: la nôtre un jour ne pourra faire loi pour les édifices à élever pour la postérité'.

11 This is the crux of his philosophy. He was eclectic in his outlook. Refusing to surrender to any idea, he set up no standard of beauty. Beauty appeared a relative value, changing from age to age, determined by climate and material resources; but, equally, based on the acknowledged excellence of certain ideas and inherited traditions. The degree with which he adhered to



established criteria, however, proved extremely limiting to his development. The chief aim of his teaching was to effect an immediate, if temporary, reconciliation of traditional values.

12 His achievement, in many ways similar to that of A. J. Gabriel, was to consolidate the French tradition that derived from Lescot, Philibert de l'Orme and Salomon de Brosse and culminated in the work of the Mansarts, Perrault and Francois Blondel - a tradition at once French, classical and limited; but at the same time allowing a margin for originality and innovation. He revised, but re-established, a set of ideas that had been formulated in Colbert's Academies with the same patient care and reasonable discrimination that the Premier Architecte exercised in restoring the grand French manner to architecture; and if their purity of taste seemed to approximate to the Neo-classical ideal, it was certainly due rather to a reconsideration of seventeenth century aims than to any real reappraisal of Greek and Roman architecture. Blondel's writings are stamped as products of French academicism: they recall the painful arguments of the 'ancients' and the 'moderns', those men who claimed that the architecture of antiquity provided a complete and absolute system for creation, and those who held that some degree of originality was permissible, and even desirable. Reacting from the rococo efflorescence of Louis XV's reign, moreover, he found the common-sense and devotion to simplicity endorsed by the seventeenth century highly attractive. He



grudgingly conceded a certain moderation and neatness of
13 expression to the works of the English Palladians - though he
had a strong liking for the particular object of their aversion,
14 Sir Christopher Wren - but his national loyalty was stronger, and
15 he was little influenced by Vitruvius Britannicus. Instead, he
found his models in the figures of François Mansart, Perrault
and François Blondel.

16 'Selon nous', he said categorically, 'la porte Saint Denis,
par François Blondel, est la première merveille de notre archi-
tecture; Le Val de Grâce et le Château des Maisons, par François
Mansart, le seconde; ensuite le Péristyle du Louvre'.

But like all good critics, he was continually revising his
judgements; though it is fair to add that while his enthusiasms
might cool, they rarely evaporated. At times Perrault seemed
the noblest of architects, at others François Blondel was without
peer, but most often he found a peculiar sort of grace in the
17 works of François Mansart - 'Combien ne sommes nous pas con-
vaincus de notre insuffisance', he wrote, 'lorsque toutes les
années nous nous transportons à Maisons avec nos élèves, pour
nous y convaincre que Mansart est le dieu de l'architecture, et
que ses ouvrages fournissent le modèle le plus parfait à imiter
pour ceux qui valent atteindre à la plus grande célébrité'.

Entirely confident in the French initiative, he cultivated



18 the style of J. Hardouin Mansart and his followers, which, bridging
the years of the Rococo, continued into the reign of Louis XVI and
even beyond. He admired the buildings of Cartaud, Leblond and
Lassurance fils and, surprisingly enough, reserved special praise
19 for the work of Germain Boffrand, who is remembered today rather
for the glittering rocaille of his salon in the Hôtel de Soubise
than for the competence of planning and even sobriety of manner
that Blondel recognised in the Hôtel d'Argenson and the Hôpital
des Enfants-Trouvés in Paris. But he approved Boffrand's writings,
and was not to be diverted from what he recognised as the excellencies
of his architecture by some rocaille exaggerations. Not that he was
willing to overlook the implications of the Rococo movement. In
1737, in his 'De la Distribution des maisons de plaisance' he
20 strongly dispraised Louis XV's modish designers; though in the same
year, it must be admitted, he published designs by Nicolas Pineau,
who was soon to initiate the exotic, assymetric phase of the
Rococo style. Blondel's early manner, moreover, was not sober. But
21 the Rococo movement involved preferences that he could not condone -
he was unable, for example, to consider the free play of individual
fancy a condition of good architecture. He was, of necessity,
therefore, opposed to the whole movement. And he lost no
opportunity of disparaging it in his writings: the illustrations
that he provided for his books, however, take the bite out of his
remarks. Yet it says much for his sensibility that he paid tribute



to the taste, talent and even genius, of Oppenord, Meissonnier and Germain and, curiously, Borromini - then thought so shocking - and reserved his most annihilating criticism for their followers.

- 22 'Combien les Borrominis en Italie, les Meissonniers en France n'ont ils pas produit de mauvais imitateurs? Cependant on ne peut refuser quelque approbation à ces hommes de génie: mais il aurait fallu qu'ils restassent originaux: ce sont leurs copistes qui nous ont appris à avoir une moins bonne opinion de leurs ouvrages'. And again in his last work, 'Les Amours Rivaux', an extravagant, entertaining discussion between the partisans and the Rococo and Neo-classical styles, where the shafts of irony are aimed not at the originators of the rocaille, but at their less respectable champions.

- 23 Blondel's most famous and certainly most influential work was the 'Cours d'Architecture', published in twelve small volumes between 1771 and 1777. Based on lectures given in 1750, the Cours is clearly not a series of lecture notes: the whole has been revised, enlarged and brought up to date with an alertness and a sense of detachment that is wholly admirable - 'une critique trop austere', he said, 'est aussi peu propre à instruire'. The personalities and polemics of the eighteenth century are reflected in the work; they are assessed and placed as it were. Blondel did not complete the 'Cours'. He finished the first two sections on 'Décoration' and 'Distribution', but left only forty eight pages of writing and

and some oddly unsuitable plates for the third - 'Construction' - which was written by Pierre Patte (1723 - 1814), a pupil of Boffrand, with a rigorous and well-defined knowledge of structure not shared by Blondel. For despite his very real interest in technical
24 requirements, Blondel was, ultimately, far more concerned with architectural appearances.

The 'Cours' is full of contradictions; but there is no uncertainty of approach. From the labyrinth of rights and wrongs a fine, just and wholly comprehensible doctrine emerges that is firmly
25 founded on the dictates of common-sense and sound reasoning - 'Nous avons surtout cherchés', Blondel wrote, 'à analyser ce qu'on peut appeler le raisonnement de l'architecture; nous nous flattons même que cette partie de notre ouvrage ne sera pas la moins intéressante, nous ayant paru la plus capable de faire éclore le germe du génie de l'élève, de développer, d'entendre ses idées, de fixer son imagination, de préparer son esprit pour recueillir avec fruit une application judicieuse dans ses différentes productions'.

But Blondel, as I have said, was no great innovator. He sought to strengthen the independence that the French had won from the Italians in dismissing Bernini from Paris in 1665, and had cultivated
26 in their Academies since. Architecture, he emphasised, was based on a system of rules, precepts and inherited traditions. Precedent, in its more severe form, he realised however, was too remote and
27 unreal a standard for creation - 'Les règles seules', he wrote,



'ne peuvent guères former que des hommes froids et mediocres.

Le goût réuni aux règles forme le bon architecte. Il est vrai que le goût seul est insuffisant; les préceptes lui apprennent à régler les masses de son édifice, à décider les nus, à déterminer les rapports que doivent avoir ensemble les différentes parties; mais au moins est il sûr que c'est au goût à les justifier, à

28 les faire valoir et à les embellir'. Taste, he declared elsewhere, was indeterminate. Yet it was clearly not entirely uncontrollable, in his opinion, being by its very nature wedded to
29 custom. 'Le goût, comme nous l'entendons', he wrote, 'est le Juge-né des Beaux Arts, qui n'ont été réduits à des principes constants et positifs, que pour lui plaire; qu'en un mot, le goût de ces mêmes arts n'est point factice, mais naturel; qu'il est en nous, mais qu'il se peut perfectionner, et qu'alors il devient le flambeau qui sert de guide aux artistes dans toutes leurs productions.

On peut diviser le goyt en goût naturel et en goût acquis. Le premier n'est point une connaissance théorique, mais un sentiment des règles mêmes que l'on ne connaît pas; c'est lui qui nous cause le plaisir que nous éprouvons à l'aspect d'un bon ouvrage de l'art, sans autre secours que le sentiment, le second est celui qui procure à l'âme des sensations dont l'esprit peut se rendre compte. Cette dernière espèce de goût peut-être changée, modifiée



ou augmentée par le goût naturel: en sorte qu'on peut dire que le goût acquis, pour se perfectionner, a besoin du goût naturel'.

Though partly concerned with emotional responses for which self-conscious rationalism might have no explanation, taste, he added, could be developed by the just and critical examination of architectural work: both good and mediocre buildings alike - Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Gothic buildings; the structures of the greatest French architects and those of their humblest imitators - for in isolating and analysing the problems inherent in each work, the architect sharpened his powers of perception and increased his own abilities - 'Qu'importe après tout', Blondel wrote, 'que nos monuments ressemblent à l'architecture antique, ancienne, gothique ou moderne, pourvu qu'il en résulte un heureux effect et un caractère convenable à chaque genre d'édifices. Un véritable architecte est impartial, le beau pour lui est toujours beau; tout est de son ressort, il peut puiser également et dans les différentes productions des beaux-arts et dans celle qui lui offre la variété infinie de la nature'.

Poetic feeling and an originality marked with genius, excellent qualities in Blondel's view, were to be allowed free play in design, if not within the limits defined by the most highly developed taste, at least in conformity with it. Everything was to be in keeping: there was to be no false note. The canons of the Greeks and Romans and all the exacting rules of



Palladio, Scamozzi and Vignola could be set aside on occasions;
32 provided always that the work of innovation was so clear and
consistent in character that nothing obtruded, nothing was
commonplace, nothing - least of all - was done for effect. As
33 with J. Hardouin, Mansart's buildings, which gave a feeling of
devotion to an ideal whole, but owed little to Greek or Roman
34 architecture - 'tels est le propre des grands hommes, de ne
devoir leurs productions qu'à eux mêmes, et dès la ne ne pouvoir
être imités que par les architectes de leur classe'. For the
ability to subordinate one's powers of perception and knowledge
35 of the rules to the poetic feeling of the whole (vraisemblance
he called it) was the prerogative of masters; it was not so much
36 the result of discipline - an act of will - as of a habit of mind -
'une heureuse habitude, souvent supérieure à la raison même.'

This dignified but liberal theory of taste is far removed
from the negative circumscribed doctrines developed in England
during the early years of the century - far removed from the
beliefs of David Hume. The title alone of his 'Standard of Taste',
printed in 1751, evinces the intellectual limitations that
conditioned the return to architectural restraint in England.
Blondel knew exactly when to temper the intellectual detachment
of his theories. Though they are formed, there are few formulas.
Yet his taste in architecture appears to have been almost as
pompous as that of the Burlington group.



Blondel imagined an architecture at once simple but full of lively interest; it was to be endorsed by nature, in the rather hybrid eighteenth century sense of the word - 'jointe à une variété infinie', he writes, 'nous y remarquerons des rapports justes entre les parties et le tout, entre les causes et les effets; nous la verrons simple dans ses moyens, mais sans monotonie; riche dans sa parure, mais sans affection; féconde en ressources, mais sans s'embarrasser elle même.'

Plans were to be straightforward and symmetrical in arrangement. Suites of rooms were to be linked together on visual axes - enfilades - that could be extended, if desirable, into garden walks and avenues. Each room, moreover, was to be symmetrical within itself - 'par la symétrie', he wrote, 'l'on entend la régularité respective des corps mis en opposition les uns vis à vis les autres; la nécessité de placer les cheminées et les trumeaux dans le milieu de la longueur et de la largeur de la pièce - and though in theory he disapproved expedients like false doors and looking-glass-fitted windows, he felt bound to accept them. Even beds were to be set axially - 'souvent', he said, 'on supprime les portes feintes pour ranger le lit dans un des angles de la pièce; ce qui n'est supportable néanmoins que dans une maison bourgeoise'. Yet convenience was a determining factor in planning.



- 41 He continually belauds the subtlety and ease of arrangement
arrived at in seventeenth and eighteenth century France - not
that he liked the endlessly varying rhythms of space in which
41a Oppenord and Meissonnier expressed their sensibilities; but
rather the simple clearly apprehended relationship of one room
to another achieved by J. Hardouin Mansart in particular and
cultivated later by Cartaud and, to a certain extent, by Boffrand.
- 42 'Nos architectes', Blondel wrote, 'depuis les Mansards, ont
donné à la distribution de nos bâtiments un degré de perfection
dont nous ne pouvons plus raisonnablement nous écarter en ayant
une fois reconnu l'utilité et l'agrément'.

Convenience, however, was clearly expendable in the interests
43 of the grand manner - 'il ne suffit pas', he said, 'de concevoir
l'arrangement des pièces de parade, de société et de commodité:
il ne suffit pas d'établir leur véritable diamètre, de régler
leur hauteur, et d'en varier les formes; ils faut que ces
diamètres, ces hauteurs et ces formes émanent de la distribution
extérieure des corps d'architecture qui déterminent l'ordonnance
des façades'. And in commenting on two elaborate plans for a
large country house - the one determined by internal requirements,
the other by a consideration of mass, silhouette and external
44 effects generally - he says unambiguously - 'il faut quelquefois,
dans un grand édifice, savoir sacrifier l'intérieur à l'extérieur'.



For Blondel, architectural composition consisted in a variety
45 of forms built up regularly and evenly around a central feature -
'une forme pyramidale' - usually a pavilion of no great scale or
consequence, but emphatic enough to focus attention. He realised,
however, that this simplified arrangement might easily lead to
dullness and monotony; thus he insisted on a certain liveliness
46 of plan and silhouette. 'En un mot', he said, 'on désire dans un
47 édifice voir régner, avec l'ordre, une diversité louable, sans
laquelle on n'aperçoit que monotonie, où l'on voudrait remarquer
des formes assez simples pour être aperçues d'un seul coup d'oeil,
et assez variées pour être examinées avec plaisir'.

Each part, no less than each form, was to be distinctly
48 expressed - 'rien n'est si contraire aux règles de la bonne
architecture, que de ne pas détacher chaque membre les uns les
autres' - but there was to be no sense of discontinuity in the
modelling and, least of all, violent contrast. Symmetry, as can
49 be imagined, was to be the controlling factor - 'la symétrie
doit être regardée comme une des principales beautés de l'architecture;
elle doit être considérée comme l'ennemie du contraste; ou du
moins elle force, pour ainsi dire, les formes contrastées quand
on est obligé d'en admettre dans les dehors, d'être régulières
dans leurs côtés opposés'.

50 Character, he believed, was of unquestionable importance in

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in architecture. The purpose of each building was to be clearly evoked by the scale and amplitude of the major elements; by the abundance or sparsity of ornamental motifs; or more simply by

51 the use of symbolic sculpture - 'sans la sculpture l'architecture se trouverait souvent réduite à la sûreté, à l'utilité et à la solidité. C'est par son secours que nos édifices sacrés, nos places publiques, nos maisons royales, deviennent des monuments dignes de la nation'. Elsewhere, it must be admitted, Blondel

52 qualified the rather reactionary implications of this statement, but did not change his belief that both sculptural and ornamental embellishments were necessary to architecture. He described

53 cornucopias, guillochis, cartouches and caryatides - vases and urns - niches and pedestals - most of which he pretended to

54 disapprove in theory. He wrote of balustrades that smoothed the skyline and of a variety of pediments - which he approved strongly

55 in their simpler semi-circular and triangular forms, though he recommended that their use be avoided over door and window-openings. But what constituted the ornamental part of architecture for him above all else, was the range of mouldings and entablatures, pilasters and columns deriving from the five Orders, each with its varying indication of severity, gravity, elegance, magnanimity and opulence. Logically, he believed, they were not to be combined

56 - 'le goût', he said, 'semble opposer à l'application des ordres d'une expression différente dans une même façade; un seul ordre



paraît y suffire' - but in avoiding the use of a plain attic storey (a feature he disliked intensely) or in emphasizing the gradations of a pavilion, he conceded that a sequence of Orders could be used. He preferred a combination of Orders to the giant order, which, he felt, was not to be indiscriminately employed on private houses but only on churches, public buildings and palaces overlooking an open space. As in the works of Perrault, Gabriel and, presumably, Soufflot. Any attempt to combine the giant and regular Orders, he said, hintily darkly at Bernini, was madness. For the scale and system of proportion subtended by each of the Orders was inviolate.

Indeed, these proportions, authorized jointly by the Greeks and Romans, canonized in the works of Alberti, Palladio, Vignola and Scamozzi, were the vital characteristics of the Orders -

60 'Commençons donc,' Blondel wrote in his first volume of the 'Cours', 'pour acquérir l'art de décorer nos édifices avec précision et avec goût, par l'étude des proportions des cinq ordres, comme étant la base des principes qui concernent la décoration des bâtiments.'

He insisted always on the importance of proportion in architecture - simple, easily apprehended ratios in particular. He went even further: he conceived the idea of an architecture, almost free from ornament, relying for its effect on the relationship of plain wall-surfaces and rectangular door and window-



openings. This, one might imagine, represented an advance in the state of his neo-classical connoisseurship; but the designs that he discussed reveal other loyalties.

At the end of the ninth volume of the 'Cours', he illustrates a number of façades; not one is Neo-classical in style. There is, as can be imagined, an example of fine, unpretentious seventeenth-

61 century French work: the Hôtel de Beauvais by Antoine le Pautre.

62 'L'ordonnance de cette façade', Blondel writes, 'prouve qu'on peut faire une bonne architecture, sans employer les ordres. Peut-être prouve-t-elle encore que par ce moyen, on parvient à offrir de plus grandes parties, plus de repos, et, une simplicité qui la rend amie de l'oeil, et le satisfait mieux que lorsqu'il rencontre souvent des ressauts, des retours, de petits objets, et une suite indispensable d'ornements que les ordres amènent naturellement sur la scène'.

But he was less enthusiastic, if more eloquent, in estimating

63 the chasteness of Carlo Moderna's Palazzo Mattei, which he considered to represent the modern Roman School:

64 'La façade dont nous parlons est assez symétrique dans ses parties; mais ne peut-on pas dire que cette même symétrie devient monotone? D'ailleurs onze croisées de face, sans aucun avant-corps, semblent une simplicité affectée et peu convenable pour annoncer la décoration extérieure d'un palais. Peut-être abusons-nous trop des ressauts dans nos bâtiments; mais ne doit-on pas



convenir aussi que cette continuité lisse, poussée à l'excès, ne présente plus qu'une composition froide et dépourvue des mouvements que les grâces de l'art autorisent dans certaines occasions? Quel espace considérable, par exemple, ne remarque-t-on pas entre le sommier des croisées du premier étage et l'appui de celles du second? Cette grande hauteur, dirait-on est destinée dans les dedans à contenir les voûtes qui terminent les pièces intérieures. Cela peut-être: mais à quoi servent les ressources de l'architecture? Avec combien de génie Mansard et plusieurs de nos maîtres Français, n'ont-ils pas surmonté la difficulté d'accorder l'extérieur avec l'intérieur de nos bâtiments, soit en employant dans les dehors de grandes ouvertures feintes qui en contenaient de plus petites réelles, assorties au genre de l'édifice; soit en faisant usage des niches carrées ou en donnant une plus grande élévation à leur entablement?'

'Mais, disent quelques-uns, tous ces divers membres n'empêchent pas la petitesse des vides, et la grandeur des pleins. Non sans doute; mais ils divisent ceux-ci, ils remplissent les espaces, ils soutiennent le style, caractérisent le genre, et empêchent enfin la désunion que de trop grands intervalles procurent à l'ordonnance. Nous savons bien que quelques architectes appellent ces intervalles des repos dans l'architecture: nous savons cela; mais nous - nous les appelons des dissonances, des

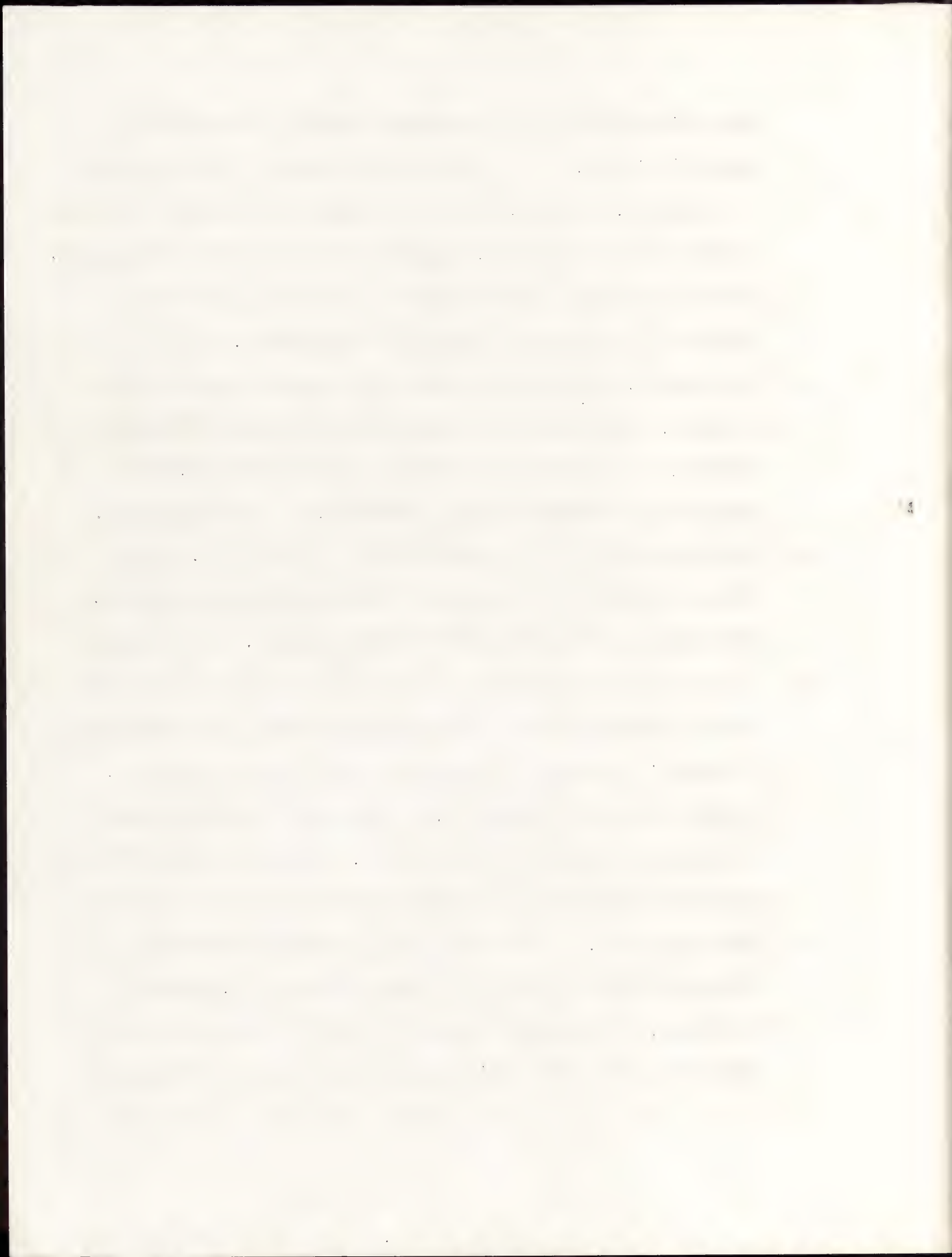


disparités, des nus qui choquent la vraisemblance et qui nuisent à l'unité.'

65 Palladio, he added, known for a like simplicity in his treatment of wall-surfaces, was not to be imitated in this respect. Yet the town houses that he proposed as models derived their simplicity from Italian, if not Palladian sources. He illustrates
66 five façades, all of which conform to a pattern already familiar in France. The lower floor, arcaded or pierced with rectangular openings, acts as a base or podium to the upper floors, which rise through two or three storeys to a cornice, with an attic above.

66a The major emphasis is at the level of the first floor. No columns or pilasters are applied: though unexpressed, however, the Orders are implicit in the whole arrangement.

67 From these houses, one by Franque in particular - the prototype of Fontaine's rue de Rivoli designs - one may form an idea of Blondel's taste at its most straightforward and unassuming. All his demands for simplicity, it is evident, do not make him an upholder of the Neo-classical ideal. They only serve to show, very characteristically, that he sought to revise and purify the
68 French tradition. He spoke favourably and very briefly of one or two buildings by his pupils Peyre and de Wailly, Chalgrin and Ledoux, and was even disposed to wonder at Ledoux de
69 Mézière's vast Halle au Blé - then without its dome - but



neither approved nor was willing to condone the changes that these men introduced into French architecture. For example, he strongly disliked the massiveness of form which a renewed interest in Greek and Roman Antiquity inspired in France during the second
70 half of the century - 'la plupart de nos élèves se trompent-ils tous les jours', he wrote, 'il leur paraît plus aisé d'arriver aux compositions gigantesques, qu'aux proportions de la belle architecture - ' And was equally contemptuous of the
71 fashionable novelties 'à la Greque' with which architects were enriching furniture and interior decorations. To the very end of his life he strove to restore to architecture the grand, yet precise elegance of seventeenth century buildings in France - an ideal not inimical to the Neo-classical movement, but independent of it.

Yet Blondel was one of the first to admire what he recognised as the Antique grandeur of the work of Servandoni. Fiery,
72 impetuous and unusually charming, J.-N. Servandoni (1695 - 1766) was born in Florence: his mother was Italian, his father is said to have been a coachman from Lyon. He became a pupil of G. D. Pannini and studied under G.C. Rossai, the Roman architect. Travelling widely, he painted, organised fêtes and firework displays and did stage sets in Lisbon and London, Brussels and Stuttgart, Dresden and Vienna. Everywhere he was successful and was well rewarded. He made his début in France, in 1726, with



the décor of Pyramus and Thisbe. Two years later he was appointed Décorateur en Chef to the Académie Royale de Musique. Turning to architecture in 1729, he prepared designs for the

73 Chapelle de la Vierge at Saint Sulpice, then being completed and decorated gorgeously by Oppenordt and Meissonnier. Three years

74 later he entered and won a competition for the west façade of the church. His design, it must be admitted, was inflected by Oppen-

75 ordt's earlier projects, but it was more evidently modelled on Saint Paul's in London, which he had no doubt seen. On 11th May 1733 the foundations of Servandoni's façade were begun. Work continued steadily for several years. By 1742, however,

76 Servandoni had revised his design considerably. A feeling for classical Antiquity, stronger than any evoked since the advent of the Renaissance in France, was evident in the architecture. The complexity of the first project was smoothed away: the entablature of the lower order was made continuous across the entire façade; the central pediment was greatly enlarged to jut across the bases of the towers, the entablature at this level, however, remained discontinuous. And the towers were as lively, almost playful, in appearance as ever. Apart from these towers and the pediment, the west front of the church was virtually complete in June 1745, when the building was consecrated. Servandoni then left Paris to travel through Europe once more, and the work was entrusted to Oudot de MacLaurin. He erected



the north tower, slightly altering Servandoni's design, in 1749. But Servandoni, who had returned to Paris by this time, was asked to effect a more drastic change in his design - 'M.M. Gabriel, de 77 Lassurance, et plusieurs autres membres de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture ayant été appelés, alors, pour jurer de cette construction, décidèrent avec raison, non en l'absence de Servandoni, mais en sa présence, et après beaucoup de discussions, l'insuffisance de ses moyens; ce qui força cet architecte à renoncer à l'exécution du grand fronton'.

In the second volume of Blondel's 'Architecture Française', 78 published in 1752, the new project was illustrated: the upper entablature had been made continuous, and a neat balustrade had been 79 substituted for the pediment - recalling, in this respect, Oppenordt's project of 1726. Servandoni, however, was not entirely 80 satisfied with the arrangement - 'à la place de ce fronton', Blondel explained, 'l'on vient de déterminer la balustrade que se voit ici, et l'on a projeté de construire un troisième Ordre, en arrière corps sur le mur qui sépare le porche d'avec l'église; cet Ordre doit avoir la hauteur de Corinthien sur lequel s'élèvent les campaniles. Sur trois arcades de ce nouvel Ordre, doit s'élever un fronton moins considérable que celui dont nous venons de parler'.

In this same year Servandoni prepared his first drawings for 81 a vast, regular square around Saint Sulpice. The entire new



82 Project was evidently finalized by 1754, when it was struck on
a commemorative medal. Work was begun, but not, one assumes,
diligently pursued. A house on the corner of the rue and the
83 place Saint Sulpice survives as a witness of the town-planning
undertaking, but when Servandoni died in 1766, the façade of the
church was yet unfinished. The Academy, however, was anxious
84 to secure its completion: during 1767 and 1768 proposals by
Pierre Patte and Oudot de MacLaurin were considered: both
84a architects intended to remove the almost complete third Order,
Patte wishing to construct the great pediment designed by
Servandoni, MacLaurin hoping to retain the balustrade and to
give more emphasis to the towers. In March 1768 after some
intrigue in Academic circles, he was appointed architect. His
designs for the towers were accepted, but he was charged to put
up the pediment proposed by Patte. Hardly was it completed in
1770, however, than it was struck by lightning. Chalgrin,
Blondel's pupil, then took charge of the work: he demolished
the remains of the pediment, restored the balustrade and, in
1777, reconstructed the north tower to his own design.

The façade of Saint Sulpice was thus not Servandoni's
creation alone: the severity of style, the squareness of
silhouette for which it was famous even in the eighteenth century,
was evolved over a period of more than forty years by several

architects; Chalgrin no less than Servandoni. Yet he was the first French architect of the eighteenth century to bring into play in his buildings a new feeling for Rome and her monuments -

85 'Plein des beautés de l'antique', said Blondel in the 'Cours',
'il a su soutenir le style Grec dans toutes ses productions,
tandis que Paris, de son temps n'enfantait guère que des chimères'.
But Greece, one may assume, was seen through the eyes of Rome.
There is no evidence to suggest a knowledge of Greek buildings in any of the Servandoni designs - neither in the splendid décors that he set up in Bibiena's manner, nor in the few garden pavilions, houses and churches that he is known to have built. Some of his work, however, exhibits a loyalty to the disciplines of ancient Rome - the temple to Hymen that he erected on the occasion of

86 Madame Louise Elizabeth's marriage in 1739, is curiously sober
87 in style, and the gallery of Lord Melcombe's house in Hammersmith, though not unusual in England at that period, is of a simplicity and restraint of manner that would have been revolutionary in France.

Servandoni's personal achievement so dominates the architecture of Louis XV's reign that many critics, from J. F. Blondel onwards, have been tempted to make his influence accountable for the

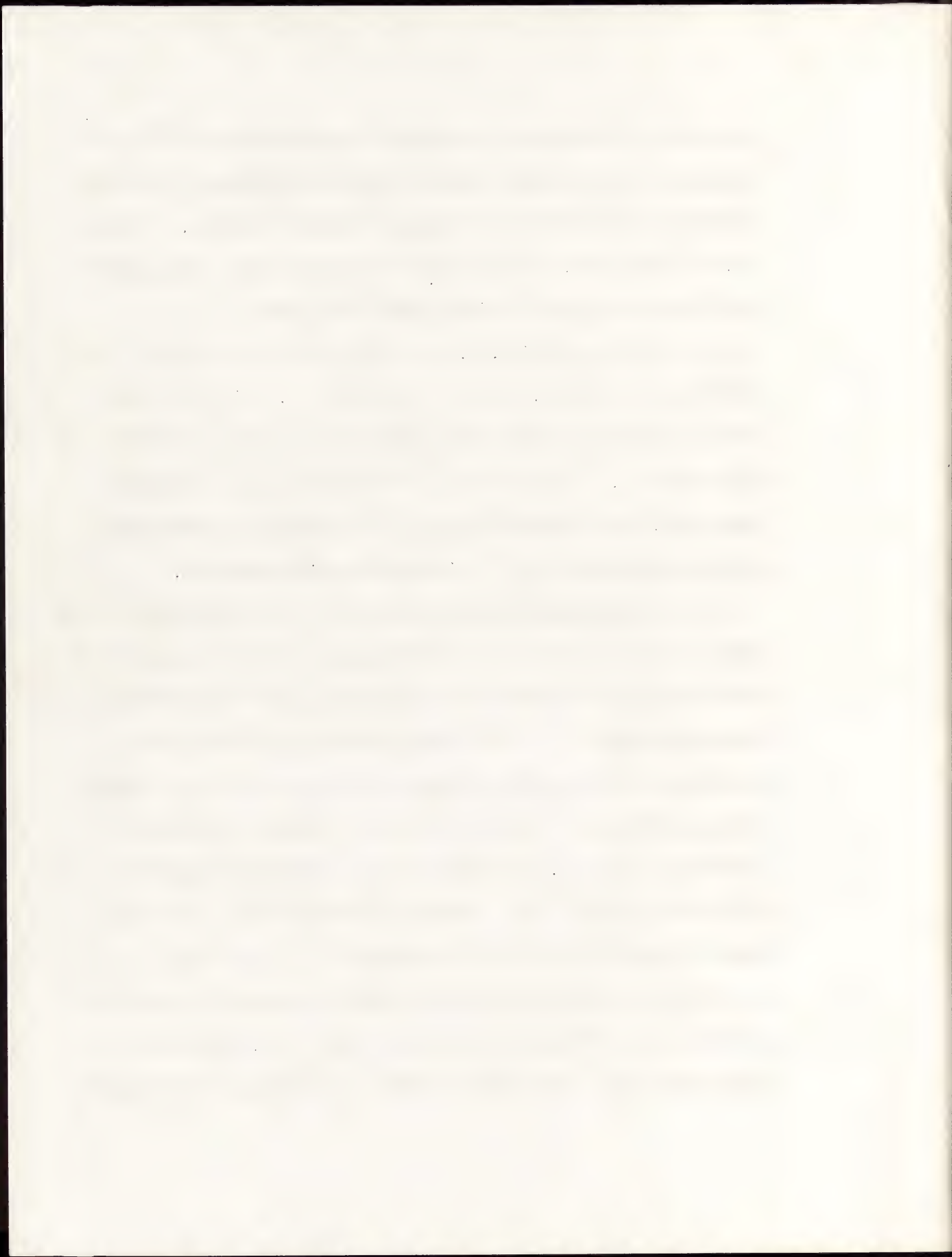
87a 'antique' air of French architecture after 1750. Nothing could be more mistaken. It was not to Servandoni so much that the



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change to a neo-classical viewpoint was due as to the connoisseurs, critics and even engineers who formulated the revolutionary doctrines in the early years of the eighteenth century. Three men, in particular, may be said to have inaugurated the heroic age of Neo-classicism - Frémin, president of the Bureau des Finances in Paris, Abbé G. L. de Gerlemoy (1651 - 1722) a Cistercian theologian, and his adversary A. F. Frézier (1682 - 1773) a military engineer, who alone of the group is known to have built anything. The relations of these men cannot be precisely determined, but their stimulus seems to have been derived from the controversies of the Académie Royale d'Architecture.

88 From its first inception in 1670, the Academy demanded a self-conscious questioning of architectural values. New projects were scrutinized with care; construction was discussed and decoration analysed. And the arguments of the 'ancients' and the 'moderns' prompted a departure from the attitude to antiquity that was associated with the generations preceding François Blondel and Perrault. The change was a fundamental one; a change of feeling, admitting of a closer inspection of the past; a renewed interest in the intrinsic values of ancient architecture as opposed to the acceptance of the classical apparatus that had been handed down by a long line of theorists. François Blondel strove to establish Vitruvius firmly as the indisputable



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grammarians of the orders; Perrault, in an illustrated and annotated edition of the Roman's theories, introduced him as an architect, a manipulator of form, working in a personal manner. But 'ancient' or 'modern', they both sought a new assurance and ground for certainty in their study of the past.

In 1676, when the secretary of the Academy, André Félibien, 89 (1619 - 1695) published his 'Principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture', he showed a Doric column, unfluted and without a base - that is, in effect, the Tuscan column of the theatre of Marcellus at Rome. The concept was certainly not new. Vitruvius and his commentators had found it an embarrassment, though Serlio had illustrated the Doric order thus. What Félibien's illustration does suggest - apart from an obvious inability to distinguish between Greek and Roman architecture - is a determined sense of honesty in assessing the antique; a conscious desire to arrive at the essence of the style. This renewed enthusiasm is more conspicuous, perhaps, in Antoine Desgodetz's accurate engravings for the 'Edifices antiques de Rome', published in 1682. The work is dedicated to Colbert, thus stamping it as an Academic product.

With some measure of this zest for broadening the boundaries 90 of knowledge the first inspection of Greek architecture was undertaken - the inspection, it must be admitted, was tentative.



The Marquis de Nointel, French ambassador at Athens, led the way. He commissioned an artist of some ability, Jacques
91 Carrey, to draw the sculpture of the Parthenon, and sent these sketches, together with a number of inscriptions to Paris; where, surprisingly, they were indifferently received. At Nointel's instigation, also, some notes and observations on Athens
92 made by a Jesuit missionary, Père Babin, were taken to Lyon and printed there in 1674 under the direction of a local scholar, Dr. Jacob Spon (1647 - 1685). The book is colourless and lacks
93 architectural interest. But, during the following year, Spon was incited to set out on the hazardous journey to Athens himself, taking with him an English botanist, George Wheeler, whom he encountered at Venice. By the end of 1676 he was back at Lyon writing of his adventures. In 1678 he published his 'Voyage
94 d'Italie, de Dalmatie, Grèce et du Levant', in three octavo volumes. The authority of this work was undoubted and its success was ensured when Spon launched into a controversy with
95 Guillet de Saint Georges, the author of a highly coloured, fictitious account of a journey to Greece. Spon was soon
96 known to scholars throughout Europe.

From an architectural point of view the outcome of Spon's
97 fieldwork is distinctly disappointing. Neither his description
98 of the Thesion and the Parthenon, nor his miserable engraving of the latter, was calculated to stir architects in the Academic



world. Greek architecture was to remain an enigma for seventy years to come. Yet the spirit of enquiry characteristic of the seventeenth century emerged forcibly in two idiosyncratic and original books - Frémin's 'Memoires critiques d'Architecture', published in 1702, and Cordemoy's 'Nouveau Traité de toute l'Architecture', of 1706. Both books contain a great deal of lively observation and are ably argued, reflecting very fairly the imaginative way in which critics were attempting to revise architectural values at that period.

99 Hardly anything is known of Frémin, but his writings convey the impression of a man of unusual objectivity, fiercely impatient of all stupidity and affectation. Architects, he insisted, should be more straightforward in their approach to design and more knowledgeable about building methods. Utterly opposed to François
100 Blondel, he summed up his beliefs - 'l'architecture est un art de bâtir selon l'objet, selon le sujet et selon le lieu; par cette définition je désigne que l'architecture n'est rien moins que la simple connaissance des cinq ordres. Je fais entendre que cette connaissance ci est dans l'architecture la moindre partie, et qu'un architecte qui ne sçait parler que des mesures des cinq ordres est un architecte très petit et très mince'.

His attack certainly had its point. He was probably the first French critic to propose a break from the authority of the orders in this arrogant way. In comparison, Cordemoy might seem to have



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achieved a less sudden independence of tradition, his treatise,
101 however, was more devastating in its effect. A theologian and
historian of repute, he turned unaccountably to architecture.
Certainly, his knowledge of the subject was not extensive. And, if
we are to judge by his writings, he had been neither to Greece nor
to Rome.

His ideas derive from Vitruvius. Interpreting the old theorist
with considerable vigour, partly to justify a preference for a plain,
truthful type of architecture, but equally impelled by the serious
conviction that Greek architecture was more pure in form than the
architects of the Renaissance cared to admit, Cordemoy conjured up
an architecture of simplified geometric forms and planes set in
relation one to another to form a unified whole, but at the same
time to retain an air of distinction and independence. 'Le
dégagement', he insisted, was one of the most important of archi-
102 tectural qualities - 'c'est peut-être un foible que j'ai de commun
avec les anciens, dont je ne saurais me défaire'. Thus, he
condemned the 'bas-relief' effect of contemporary architecture and
rejected the motifs that were deployed on contemporary buildings,
blurring their outlines with continuous and uneasy modelling.
He liked plain masonry surfaces. And, in accord with Frémin, he
discouraged the use of sculptural additions, applied columns and
pilasters - the latter, he declared, were to be used only in antis
or to express the junction of an outer wall - they were always, he



insisted, to have vertical sides. For Cordemoy conceived the geometry of architecture as strictly rectangular. He disliked dynamic angles and canted lines. He approved rectangular door and window openings and somewhat capriciously, if consistently, extolled the use of the cornice because it could be used to stress the horizontal. He went even further; demanding the use of four-square Mansard or, preferably, flat-roofs, he dispensed with the pediment, both as a decorative feature and as a functional expression of the pitched roof, for the inclined line, he found disagreeable in appearance. This liking for 'degagement' and rectangular geometry led him, ultimately, to entertain the idea of an architecture that was surprisingly Greek in its principles. Firstly, he discounted the Roman orders, preferring absolutely the Greek. This attitude is new to architectural theory, and remarkable even if we allow that Cordemoy had no knowledge of Greek buildings and might, had he done so, have thought otherwise. Secondly, he demanded that the free-standing column should resume its role as the primary architectural and structural element in building, and with it the attendant lintel - arches he despised. And here again, we must assume he was consciously departing from the established model of Renaissance architecture - Imperial Roman buildings. As a practical illustration of his ideas, he proposed the unorthodox notion that Saint Peter's in Rome, and the Val de Grâce in Paris, would have been improved, immeasurably,



if their domes had been supported on columns - and columns without bases, he hinted in his wildest flights of fancy - achieving thus, at one and the same time, an air of spaciousness and a sense of structural honesty and geometric order. And in the pursuit of this order he suggested that the altar be placed centrally under the crossing, the dome thus serving as the baldachino.

The courage and conviction that allowed Cordemoy to make these proposals in 1706 need not be emphasised. Reviewers of his 'Traité' were conscious of his uncompromising originality - 'Il y a bien des articles ou l'auteur n'est pas d'accord avec nos architectes', said the critic of the Journal des Sçavans; nonetheless, he recognised the legitimacy of most of Cordemoy's claims. The important Jesuit review, Memoires de Trévoux was even more sympathetic, it endorsed the most exaggerated of Cordemoy's suggestions: the reduction in number of the orders, the elimination of all pedestals and, if necessary, the base of the Doric column, and, in particular, the use of the free-standing column together with the lintel in church interiors.

It was the practicality of this suggestion especially that, in September 1709, drew forth a strongly worded letter from no less a man than A. F. Frézier. Born in Chambery, a descendant of Scottish refugees, Frézier grew up a dour, deeply intelligent and practical man. At twenty he was offered a commission in an



infantry regiment. Serving in Italy, he became an eager seer of most things curious. In 1706 he dashed off a brilliant 'Traité des feux d'artifice'. During the next year he resigned his commission and was appointed engineer to the fortifications of St. Malo. As a military engineer he soon won fame and saw something of the world, adventuring to Chile, Peru and Brazil, and spending seven unhappy years on Santo Domingo - where he laid out the principal town - before returning finally to France, where he was decorated and rewarded with a post at Brest. He was responsible for numerous buildings in the port area of that town and was selected to design the baldachine of Saint Louis, using
107 four antique corinthian columns sent from Athens by the Sultan as a gift for Louis XIV. Altogether, Frézier was not without a sturdy vanity of his mastery of architecture, but it was due rather to his writings than to his architectural feats that he was accepted in the artistic circles of Paris.

Interpreting Cordemoy's proposals more literally than he intended, Frézier made nonsense of the scheme to introduce
108 columns and lintols under the dome of St. Peter's or the Val de Grâce - 'c'est peut-être un foible que j'ai de commun avec les gens de notre nation' - the effect, he added, far from being spacious and simple, would be disastrously complex. And Cordemoy's ideal of pure geometry, he held, was entirely



inappropriate and impractical anyway. Arches were necessary in normal building procedure and pediments were legitimate in expressing the slope of a roof or even in emphasising an aedicule.

109 An exchange of letters followed (there were three more, 1710, 1711 and 1712) in which both correspondents indulged in a great deal of hair-splitting and some sharp satire at one another's expense. Cordemoy, on the authority of several Latin authors, claimed the early basilicas, the Holy Sepulchre and Sancta Sophia as triumphant confirmations of the peristylar architecture he had
110 in mind. Refuting this claim, Frézier cited Grélot's recent engravings of the latter; but Cordemoy obstinately refused to believe that the extant building had any relation to the church erected by Constantine. The argument, moreover, remained
111 unaltered. Cordemoy believed that Bramante, Michael-Angelo and all the architects of the Renaissance had, paradoxically, broken with the tradition of classical architecture by rejecting the column as the basic structural element; he proposed therefore to re-introduce it, especially in the design of church interiors. Yet he recognised one significant exception to his denunciations -
112 Claude Perrault. The Louvre façade exhibited a perfect understanding of 'dégagement' and, more important, in view of Frézier's thrusts, it showed that the geometry of well-spaced columns and lintols need not be sacrificed to technical ineptitude. Frézier



was not entirely persuaded. He had at the back of his mind the idea of a simple, lucid architecture that enabled him to accept a great deal of Cordemoy's doctrine, yet he was at the same time intent to remain a conservative, conforming to the routine of building practice. That their controversy was the case of a clash of two not wholly dissimilar minds was evident when, in 1738, Prézier published his 'Dissertation historique et critique sur les ordres d'architecture'. He approved many of Cordemoy's newly established criteria and, in particular, insisted on the use of the three Greek orders alone - the Tuscan and Composite orders found no place in his work.

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A second edition of Cordemoy's *Traité* was printed in 1714. It stimulated no fresh discussion. That the rational interpretation of antiquity demanded by this work should have been unsympathetic to architects of the Rococo period, was inevitable. How far Cordemoy's somewhat fortuitous interpretation of antique architecture might have affected the course of French architecture had some enterprising virtuoso followed the lead given by Spon can only be guessed at. An early doctrinaire classicism might have come about far in advance of the international Neo-classical movement. As it was, Cordemoy was the source of its premonstration in France. Nothing was built to reflect his theories in their entire form, but the dramatic columnar episodes that



occurred with increasing frequency in the churches designed during the early years of the eighteenth century and, especially, in the first phase of the Neo-classical period itself, cannot be unconnected with Cordemoy. It is probable, moreover, that he provided the idea for the portico of St. Sulpice. And some
114 hint of his polemic is discernible in Boffrand's chapel at
115 Lunéville or in Saint François de Paul at Toulon, built in 1744; though these two churches, it must be admitted, may equally derive from Vitruvius direct or from J. H. Mansart's chapel at Versailles, curiously, unmentioned by Cordemoy. A more original version of his architectural ideal is the chapel of the Communion at Saint Jean en Grève, in Paris, designed by
116 Jean François Blondel in 1735. It has, however, the air of a lighthearted extravaganza, far removed from Cordemoy's classicism. The first marked, if tepid, interpretation of his ideas is to be found, appropriately enough, at Condé-sur-Escaut, near the Belgian border - appropriately enough because in the northern and, to some extent, in the north-eastern
117 provinces of France a fondness for columns, surviving from the mediaeval period, had stubbornly persisted through the years
118 of the Renaissance. At Lille, Cambrai, Douai and elsewhere, important churches were built in the early years of the eighteenth century that incorporated slender supporting columns



in high arcaded naves. Unfailingly these designs are amateurish. At Condé-sur-Escaut, however, in the church of Saint Vaanon, 119 designed in 1751 by the worthy Parisian architect Contant d'Ivry 120 (1698 - 1777), the traditional devices were disciplined and given 121 an air of architectural unity. The façade aspires to classical correctness. The plan, based on the conventional 'Hallenkirchen' arrangement, is classically proportioned. Ionic columns line the nave and support a simple entablature. Above is a sequence of cross-vaults. Altogether, the interior has a geometric precision highly unusual in that area.

To what extent Contant was controlled by a conservative clergy one cannot judge. Isolated supporting columns might well have been asked for; it is evident, however, that he made local tradition a pretext for illustrating Condemoy's highly theoretical qualities - 'légereté' and 'dégagement' - in the most acceptable manner. Saint Vaanon is not, however, a Neo-classical work. Contant was not a purist. Even the interiors that he designed 122 for the Palais Royal in the early 1750's, though academic in the seventeenth century sense of the word, are not restrained in detail. His love of incident and liveliness effectively dis- countenanced the calm and reserve necessary to Neo-classical architecture.

His more ambitious attempts to express the new trends in architectural thought - the church of Saint Vaast at Arras and



the Madeleine in Paris - are no less ambiguous in design. They relate to Saint Vaanon and Cordenoy's teachings - but not to them alone. For, in the few years that separate these designs, the forces of the Neo-classical movement were focussed in the church of Saint Geneviève by J.-G. Soufflot and the 'Essai sur l'architecture' by the Abbé Laugier; two works of extreme importance and influence. It is necessary, therefore, to interrupt the account of Contant's architecture at this point in order to consider the evolution of these works.

Cordenoy's immediate influence was not very great. Nonetheless, the tactful and far-sighted economy that he, together with Frémin and Frézier, demanded in the early years of the century was reflected in the tendency to rationalism - a tendency not entirely new, but certainly now intensified. Architects also increased their interest in technical refinement. In 1727 de la Rue wrote a treatise on building construction - favourably reviewed at the
123 Academy by Boffrand. In 1737 the first volume of Frézier's magnum opus was published - 'La théorie et la pratique de la coupe des pierres et des bois, pour la construction des voûtes, ou traité de stereotomie à l'usage de l'architecture'. As an example of Baroque calculation the work is magnificent but the convoluted theorems and the intellectual elaboration of the language - tomographie, épistémographie, gonographie, etc. - make it dangerously artificial and obscure. The second edition, printed in 1747, was



considerably revised, but even in its modified form the book remains an unrealistic scholar's work of reference. Two new editions of Père François Dérand's seventeenth century work - 'L'Architecture des Voûtes' - were printed in these years, the first in 1745, the second in 1755.

Similarly, the critical interest in the art of the ancient world that had distinguished Cordemoy's doctrine, was developed in the early years of the eighteenth century and was accompanied, inevitably, by a demand for revision and restraint in architecture. In 1710 the first volume of the great Benedictine, Bernard de Montfaucon's 'Antiquité expliquée' - was published. This staggering compilation roused the scholarly world, and was certainly admired by architects for its section on antique temples, but it was not the sort of work to inspire a widespread, infection interest in antiquity. More important in this respect, was the
124 work of the Comte de Caylus (1692 - 1765). He animated intellectual and fashionable circles alike with an inquisitive interest in the marvels of the ancient world. He started his career as a soldier, but, turning to archaeology in 1713, he wandered for a year through Italy, travelled to Greece, La Troade and Constantinople, returning to Paris in 1717. The collection of antiquities with which he delighted his contemporaries, however, was not formed until 1729, and the famous,



much praised - 'Recueil d'antiquités' - that opened up new vistas of antique knowledge did not begin to appear until 1752. In the salons of Paris and at the Academy, however, he had already exerted his powerful influence. Jacques Francois Blondel had long criticised the conceits of the rococo period, demanding a return to the simplicity of both antique and Academic architecture. His authority was strong. Yet it was rather to Caylus and the critics stimulated by him - the Abbé Leblanc and Lafont de Saint Yenne - that the reaction of the 1740s was due.

- 125 The Abbé J. B. Leblanc (1706 - 1781) seems, on first acquaintance, a man of the most brilliant and various attainments. He was a connoisseur of some influence. But his criticism for all its appositeness, does not bear very close inspection. He had taste, but little conviction or courage; he relied on a capacity for taking up other people's ideas and using them as if they were, and always had been, his own. Born in Dijon, brought up by the Jesuits there, he entered the intellectual circles of the President Bouhier. He was saluted as a genius and continually courted for his charm and, as can be imagined, induced to go to Paris. He arrived there in 1728. Soon, he made something of a name for himself in the literary and artistic world - and in Madame du Deffand's salon in particular - by publishing his poems and a Mongolian fantasia - 'Aben-Said' - first performed in 1735. Two years later he travelled to England as the guest of the youthful



Duke of Kingston; there he remained for a year, publishing on his return the most notable of his works - 'Lettres d'un Français concernant le gouvernement, la politique et les moeurs des Anglais et des Français' - first printed in 1745. A work of great persuasion, it did much to encourage the fashion for things English, set originally by no less a man than Voltaire, who had returned from England to publish his 'Lettres Philosophiques' in 1729.

Leblanc's national loyalties, however, were strong throughout his 'Lettres'. He condemned the architecture of Sir Christopher Wren and the whole school of Vitruvius Britannicus alike; yet surprisingly, he found Inigo Jones's banqueting house - 'un des plus beaux morceaux d'architecture qui soient en Europe'. He commended the works of Sir James Thornhill and liked English gardens. But more interesting, in the present context, are his remarks on French architecture. In a toadying letter, addressed to Caylus, he developed his ideas. As one might imagine, he dispraised the architects of the rococo and approved those of Louis XIV's reign - 'l'âge d'or des lettres et des beaux arts en France'. And he concluded, fittingly - 'celui (le goût) d'aujourd'hui, Monsieur, est si dépravé que je ne pense pas qu'il puisse durer encore longtemps, et si quelquechose peut en accélérer la chute, c'est l'attention et l'encouragement que vous donnez aux arts'. Two years later Leblanc was made



'Salomier' to the *Mercur*. His first signed article - 'Lettre sur l'exposition des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture etc.' - appeared on 30th August 1747. It was calculated to offend and was promptly followed by a reply from La Font de Saint Yenne, a distinguished, if bitter, critic. A celebrated pamphlet war followed. But, despite their differences, both men accepted Caylus's doctrines, and thus conspired, unwittingly perhaps, to give them more than usual publicity. Within a few months fashionable thinkers and dilettanti had come to believe that a new restraint was essential to the arts.

And the consequence of their propaganda was to dilute the influence of the rococo in architecture. The interiors that Contant designed for the Palais Royal around 1750 were, as we have seen, tempered with a new Academicism. And A.-J. Gabriel, as Premier Architecte du Roi, set a new standard of reserve and simplicity for architecture. His pavilion of Le Butard, built in the woods of Hubiers, between Marly and Versailles, in 1750, exquisitely expressed the new ideal, while his project for the Ecole Militaire of the following year, appropriately evoked the spirit of the great Colbert. But this movement was essentially conservative in its effect. Blondel, Caylus and the host of scholars and critics who upheld them were, inevitably, unable to give a vital stimulus to architecture. Two men,



altogether more original and more forceful, provided the necessary inspiration; with the advent of J. L. Legeay and Giambattista Piranesi architecture entered a new phase.

- 135 Little is known of Legeay. He enjoyed a brief, but undisputed success, in spite of a quarrelsome nature and an impudent disregard for the elementary obligations of the architectural profession. As a student he was perpetually courted and was awarded, in 1732, the coveted Grand Prix. He travelled to Rome in 1737 and remained there for five years, mingling with artists, architects and archaeologists. On his return to Paris he was enthusiastically received by the young architects of France. His vogue, however, was short. In 1745 he left for Berlin, where he probably designed the Hedwigskirche for Frederick II. Thereafter he moved through Germany, France and England, presumably working, but leaving little trace of his activities. Yet he was well-remembered in later years
- 136 by many critics - 'on peut donner pour première époque du retour d'un meilleur goust', Cochin wrote in 1780's, 'l'arrivée de Legeay architecte, qui avait été pensionnaire à Rome. C'était un des plus beaux génies en architecture qu'il y ait eu; mais d'ailleurs sans frein, et pour ainsi dire sans raison. Il ne pouvait jamais se borner à la demande qu'on lui faisait et le grand Mogul n'aurait pas été assés riche pour élever les bâtiments qu'il projetait Comme le goust de Legeay était excellent, il ouvrit les yeux à beaucoup de gens. Les jeunes



architectes le saisirent autant qu'ils purent, peut-être plutôt parce qu'il leur parut nouveau que par un véritable sentiment de ses beautés. On vit changer sensiblement l'école d'architecture au grand étonnement de tous les architectes anciens de l'Académie'.

His work, as I have said, is virtually unknown. But if we are
137 to judge by the etchings of ruins and tombs, strange and cumbersome, that, according to Kaufmann, he prepared in 1767, his style was intentionally fantastic and unreal - altogether calculated to set off something new in architectural minds.

His achievement, however, for all its glitter, was over-ridden
138 by that of Giambattista Piranesi (1720 - 78), the greatest of architectural fantasists. Born in the Veneto, he grew up under the influence of Tiepolo. His first master, however, was the painter Carlo Zucchi. Travelling to Rome as a member of the Venetian embassy, he met Guiseppe Vasi, by whom he was taught to etch. And
139 in 1743 he published his first work - 'Prima parte di architettura è prospettive'. The etchings depict great vestibules and galleries and idiosyncratic reconstructions of Roman buildings in the late Baroque style. They express all the vulgar aspirations towards grandiosity that occupied the minds of the great at that period, and seem as ingenuously theatrical as anything by the Bibienas.
140 But in the 'Invenzioni capric di Carceri' of 1745, Piranesi showed the real calibre of his mind and passion. His dungeons and prisons, haunted by tiny, sightless figures express incomprehension and a panic bewilderment. Their architecture is colossal and



magnificent, but manifestly pointless. Staircases lead to nowhere, vaults support nothing but their own weight and enclose vast spaces that are no more than vestibules or ante-rooms to more terrible spaces beyond. The grandeur of cyclopean stone is made squalid everywhere with flimsy ladders and rickety catwalks from which are suspended rops that carry nothing except a sickening suggestion of torture.

The raw materials of his designs consist of architectural forms, their combination, however, does not add up to architecture. His drawings are abstractions, untrammelled by any considerations of utility or probability, limited only by the necessity of evoking an architectural idea. Yet the pure geometry and the heroic proportions of the forms were of far-reaching significance in the architecture of the late eighteenth century. The 'Carceri', unquestionably, opened the door to the architecture of the 'Revolutionaries', though it was only after the second edition of the book was printed in 1760, that its effect was widely visible.

Throughout his long life Piranesi did not return to this theme. His work thenceforward was topographical and archaeological. In 1748 came the 'Antichità Romane' and the 'Varie vedute di Roma' - with seven plates by the French engraver, Bellicard. Both these books consist of views of Roman buildings in their picturesque state; they were of a type prepared for travellers and virtuosi from the late sixteenth century onwards,



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142 and were not particularly original. But in 1753 Piranesi produced the 'Trofei di Ottaviano Augusto', a work involving archaeological inquiry - inspired no doubt by the learned Bottari - and thus providing new models for modern architectural design. By this date, therefore, Piranesi had shown himself an artist of the most exotic inspiration and an archaeologist, intent to discover in the ancient world new sources of architectural delight. It was the combination of these two capacities that made him so powerful an influence on the Neo-classical movement.

Earlier in this chapter it was observed that Cordenoy, together with Frémin and Frézier, had inaugurated the heroic age of Neo-classicism. Although this is true in the sense that the movement cannot be assessed adequately without taking into account the activities of these men, the statement must now be greatly modified.

Cordenoy was an instinctive revolutionary; but his ideas were neither accepted in their more severe form, nor interpreted with any distinction during his lifetime. Neo-classicism did not emerge effectively in France until a new generation of architects had been prepared by countless critics to recognize the need for revision in architecture and had discovered in the fantasias on antiquity drawn by Legeay and Piranesi in particular, the visual inspiration required. The critical years of change, it is evident, were the 1740's. But the event which,



more than any other, may be held to mark the inception of the Neo-Classical movement in France was the return of the Marquis de Marigny from Italy. On 20th December 1749 the Marquis de Marigny (1727 - 1781) brother of Madame de Pompadour, future Directeur des Bâtiments, left Paris for Rome, where he arrived on 17th March 1750, together with his three chosen companions - the Abbé J. B. Leblanc; Ch. N. Cochin le jeune (1715 - 1790) a precocious, even brilliant, engraver who was as lively a conversationalist as artist; and the architect, J. G. Soufflot (1713 - 1780).

Soufflot had been to Rome before. At the age of eighteen, having studied law unsuccessfully in Paris for a few years, he left his native Irancy (near Auxerre) determined to see the architecture of Italy. In 1743, at the instigation of the Duc de Saint-Aignan, French ambassador in Rome, he was admitted to the Villa Medici, where he worked for four years. By the beginning of 1739 he was in Lyon, where he published accurately engraved 'Plans et descriptions de l'Eglise Saint-Pierre de Rome et de la colonnade de la place antérieure', and was made a member of the local Academy. The Mémoires that he delivered there in the following years are interesting in their modernity, indicating that the development of architectural thought was no less advanced at Lyon than in Paris. Equally revealing is the



cold, Academicism of the Hôtel Dieu that he designed in 1740, at the age of twenty-seven, and erected in the years that followed. The main facade, stretching along the bank of the Rhône, is virtually unadorned - the pavilions apart - and is crowned by a simple, unbroken balustrade. Shown at the Académie d'Architecture in 1747, engraved in 1748 by J. F. Blondel, this design may be held accountable for Soufflot's early reputation in the architectural world of Paris. For he worked almost entirely at Lyon during these years. Ambitiously he undertook the embanking of the Rhône; he designed the Loge au Change, the palace of Cardinal de Tencin, the house of the Génovéfians and several speculative schemes - all restrained in their architectural style. Yet, in 1742, he erected the richly decorated baldachino of Saint Bruno des Chartreux, designed, surprisingly, by Servandoni.

146 An account of the Italian journey is contained in the 'Diverses remarques sur l'Italie' that Soufflot read to the Academy of Lyon on 12th April 1752, but he makes no comments of real interest. Cochin's 1st edition 1756, 2nd 1758 (enlarged). 'Voyage d'Italie', published in 1758, hardly mentions architecture; though it is evident that he strongly liked Florence and the work

of Palladio, and greatly disliked the Piedmontese baroque - the architecture of Guarini in particular - *L'architecture, à Florence est en général sage et de bon goût; ce qui est d'autre plus à remarquer, que dans presque toutes les autres villes d'Italie...* 'le goût est extrêmement corrompu', Cochin declared, 'A force de vouloir chercher de nouveau, on a perdu l'idée du beau; les caprices les plus extravagantes



sont devenus l'architecture à la mode, et la plus applaudie'.
He recognised with surprise the air of oriental fantasy in the
murals of Pompei and Herculaneum, and disapproved their brittle,
148 uneasy architectural follies - 'Il y a quantité de tableaux d'archi-
tecture,' he wrote, 'mais absolument mauvais; non seulement il n'y
a pas de perspective, mais ^{nûme} l'architecture ^{en} est de mauvais goût, :
il semble qu'elle soit gothique par anticipation'. And this
attitude is of some importance. For the antiquities of Herculaneum,
where systematic excavations had been in progress since 1738 (work
at Pompei was not started until 1748), were difficult of access
and not widely known. They were first made familiar in France
by Cochin himself. While yet in Italy he sent a drawing to Caylus -
149 who had it engraved for his Recueil - and wrote, on his return, a
'Lettre sur les peintures d'Herculaneum' which was issued together
with several undistinguished engravings by Bellicard in 1751.
These were reproduced in the 'Observations sur les Antiquités
de la ville d'Herculaneum avec quelques reflexions sur la peinture
et la sculpture des anciens', published in 1754 by Cochin and
Bellicard. This work is similar in outlook to the 'Voyage d'Italie'.
Thus, not until 1757, when the first works of the Academia
Ercolanese began to appear did amateurs in France have any printed
150 record of the excavations of Herculaneum other than that provided
by Cochin, who, as we have seen, was hostile in his architectural
criticism. His activity, one may assume, was prompted by a desire



31
of widening the boundaries of knowledge of the ancient world.

Yet the most noteworthy investigation of antique architecture
151 undertaken at the time, the examination of the Greek temples of
Paestum, by Soufflot, was not publicised until 1764 when his
friend, C. M. Dumont, published the 'Suite de plans, coupes,
profils, élévations géométrales et perspectives des trois temples
antiques, tels qu'ils existaient en 1750 dans la bourgade de
Paestum, mesurés et dessinés par J. G. Soufflot ...' Soufflot
152 was unaccompanied by his usual travelling companions when he
visited Paestum; it is unlikely, however, that they would have
been any more impressed by the primitive splendour of the temples
than he was - he found them barbaric. And it is indicative of
the state of antique connoisseurship at that period, that the
views of Doric temples published in 1751 in Père Pancrazi's
'Anttichità Siciliane', attracted no great attention either.

By February 1751, Soufflot was back in Lyon. Marigny, who
had stayed in Rome to partake of the social excitements, did not
leave until March 1751. In November he assumed his official
position - Directeur des Bâtiments. He immediately became an
important figure in the world of architecture. It is essential,
however, to think of him not as an individual but as one of a
group of minds, dominated by Soufflot, who were anxious and able
to restore to classical architecture a degree of its earlier
153 purity - 'on tacha de se remettre sur la voye du bon goût du



154 siècle précédent', said Cochin. Personally, Marigny admired the work of Boucher, Van Loo and Natoire, in his official capacity, however, he upheld the tradition of seventeenth century painting. Likewise he supported the tendency to academic reform in the architecture of the period, but was not wholly willing to accept
155 it for himself. 'Je ne veut point de chicorée moderne, je ne veux point de l'austère ancien, mezzo l'uno, mezzo l'altro', he told
156 Soufflot in 1768, when he commissioned him to design a house in the suburb of Roule, on the edge of the Champs Elysées. And a few years later, when he was contemplating a number of garden pavilions at Ménars, recently inherited from his sister, Marigny,
157 asked for a chinese kiosk. 'Un Directeur Général des Bâtiments de Roi', Soufflot sententiously replied, 'sous l'administration duquel la bonne architecture reparut en France après une absence presque totale de plus de trente ans, ne doit, je pense, fair bâtir chez lui ni dans le goût chinois, ni dans le goût arabesque'. And he sent a design for a classical temple. 'Je conviens avec vous, Monsieur', Marigny retorted, 'de ce qui devrait faire un chef des arts, mais vous conviendrez avec moi que c'est ma personne et non ma place qui réside à Ménars'. Soufflot, however, prevailed. Everything that he designed for Marigny has an air of precise, somewhat robust, geometry - Palladian in its inspiration rather than antique, however, for that Marigny would not tolerate - 'Je



158 voudrais que nos architects s'occupassent plus qu'ils ne font
des choses relatives à nos mœurs et nos usages que des temples
de la Grèce. Ils s'éloignent de leur objet en se livrant à
ce genre d'architecture', he wrote to Natoire, then Directeur
of the French Academy in Rome, when he viewed the drawings of
J. P. Chalgrin (1739 - 1811) and David Leroy (1724 - 1803).
There can be no doubt, however, that Marigny and his companions
159 intended to effect a reform in the arts. In 1752 Soufflot and
Cochin were granted a house near the Louvre and here their
offensive was planned. Abbé Leblanc, who had long disparaged
160 the 'chicorée' of rococo work, wrote more forcefully in his 'Salons'
- two were signed, 1753 and 1761 - and Cochin in an article pub-
161 lished in the Mercure de France of December 1754, ^{p. 173-177} launched a
frontal attack on the 'genre pittoresque' - 'Supplication aux
orfèvres, ciseleurs, sculpteurs en bois pour les appartements
et autres par une société d'artistes' - It was lively, subtle
and irritating in its thrusts, but it roused none of the fury,
among amateurs at any rate, that followed his ironical reply
in the next issue ^{Feb. 1755 p. 143-174} - 'Lettre de l'Abbé R.... sur une très
mauvaise plaisanterie qu'il a laissé imprimer dans le Mercure' -
in which he extolled the curves, the contrasts and the dis-
continuity of the designs of Meissonnier, Pineau and Lajoue.

Soufflot may have assisted in these compositions, but he
wrote nothing under his own name. He submitted drawings for the

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layout of the Place Louis XV (now the place de la Concorde) in 1753, but his dull, unflexible project was rejected in favour of Gabriel's. The following year, however, Marigny sent Soufflot to Rennes, where a new cathedral, incorporating the foundations and, if possible, the west facade of the old building, was required. Soufflot sketched a design; but some months later the project was set aside and he was called to Paris to partake in a more glorious enterprise. On 9th December 1754, Louis XV ordered a new church to be built for the abbey of Sainte Geneviève. Gabriel, firmly established as Premier architecte de Roi, should have been the obvious choice for architect, but Soufflot had Marigny's patronage and Marigny commanded the king's attention for other than artistic reasons: On January 6th, 1755, Soufflot was commissioned to design the new church and was made Contrôleur des Bâtiments du Roi au Département de Paris.

The story of this great monument must, however, be interrupted at this point to consider a work of even greater importance in the history of Neo-classicism and of some influence on Soufflot - the 'Essai sur l'Architecture' of the Jesuit Abbé Laugier (1713 - 69). When it was published first in Paris in 1753, this book caused those outbursts of horrified indignation that are usually reserved for revolutionary tracts. Reviewers and anonymous pamphleteers attacked it, Lafont de Saint Yenne brought his critical acumen to



bear on it, and Prézier, forearmed, submitted a paper to the Academy in which he rejected it as a work of impractical bombast.

167 To the second edition, printed in 1755, Laugier appended a reply, in which he confirmed and even emphasised his most provocative statements. And thus the controversy continued for years, genuinely reflecting the revolutionary changes that were taking place in French taste. Yet Laugier's polemic contained little that was wholly new to architectural thought, virtually nothing that was not contained in the accumulated ideas of the century. Laugier was not an innovator; his achievement was to formulate the Neo-classic ideal with force and urgency and to amplify it as a manifesto - a manifesto at once acknowledged as a work of the highest importance in the international

168 sphere. In Italy, Algarotti, Milizia and even Lodoli, were stirred

169 by it; in England John Soane was inspired. 'M. Laugier', said a

170 reviewer in the Journal de Trévoux, 'est le disciple de Cordenoy' - indicating at once the stature of that theorist and his great influence on the Neo-classical movement. Laugier himself declared his admiration for Cordenoy. And not without reason, for the 'Essai sur l'Architecture' is based on the 'Nouveau Traité de toute l'architecture'. Laugier took up Cordenoy's criteria, developed them, co-ordinated them and extended them, but never lost sight of them; ultimately, however, he produced a theory far more coherent and consistent than that of his predecessor.



The basis of all architecture, Laugier insisted, was the hypothetical 'rustic cabin' described by Vitruvius - four tree trunks supporting four beams and, above, a pitched roof. In analysing the orders and all the other elements of classical architecture he demanded that the simple logic of this cabin be adhered to with the utmost strictness - columns were thus to be in the round and, if necessary, without bases; entablatures were to be horizontal and unbroken; pediments were to be triangular -

171 'jusqu'ici', he said, ^{par-là (1753)} 'pas de voûte, encore moins d'arcades, point d'attique, point de piédestaux, pointe de porte même, point de fenêtre. Je conclus donc et je dis: dans tout ordre d'architecture il n'y a que la colonne, l'entablement et le fronton qui puisse entrer essentiellement dans sa composition'.

Inevitably, the rigour of this theory was softened in application, but everything superfluous to functional necessity was set aside -

172 ^{Je voudrais persuader à tout le monde une vérité que je crois vraie, certaine, c'est que les parties d'un ordre d'architecture sont les parties mêmes de l'édifice. Elles doivent donc} ~~'Les parties d'un ordre d'architecture ne sont, doivent être~~

employées de manière non seulement à décorer le bâtiment, mais à le constituer. Il faut que l'existence de l'édifice dépende ~~nettement~~ de leur union, qu'on ne puisse retrancher une seule de ces parties, sans que l'édifice croule'. The rich heritage of architectural forms developed by the Romans and the architects of the Renaissance was imperiously rejected, and architects were advised to study the simple and lucid arrangements of Greek architecture and, by applying



the principles of the ancient works to modern buildings, to produce an architecture as economical and limited in style as a classical temple. He sought to abstract from antique architecture the qualities that were the mainspring of his delight - an air of mathematical order and a feeling of structural precision. But his uncompromising rationalism led him, ultimately, to entertain the idea of an architecture uninfluenced by classical practice. The Vitruvian orders, he considered, were not necessarily final, a new one might be invented. Classical proportions - here he was in close accord with Cordemoy - were too complex in their ratios, and should be simplified. Furthermore he held, architecture might consist of simple, geometric shapes, related one to another by their proportions - an architecture, one is led to imagine, so naive in its simplicity that it would have appeared an assault on the eye as brutal as that which Rousseau was soon to suggest for the senses. 'Tenons-nous', said Laugier, 'au simple et au naturel, il est l'unique route du beau' - it was a rigid doctrine, but one that many architects were prepared to accept.

The first phase of the Neo-classical movement in France was dominated by experiments in the design of churches. Nor is this surprising, for Cordemoy's controversy with Frézier had already inflected architectural thought, Laugier had merely to emphasize the early ideas. And Cordemoy's influence is most evident in



Laugier's description of an ideal church. On a Latin cross plan
174 of rectangular outline he built up a framework of slender supporting
columns and entablatures, seeking to co-ordinate the interior space
by a rhythmic arrangement of verticals and horizontals (imitating,
he admitted, the general arrangement of J. H. Mansart's chapel at
Versailles). The altar was to be placed centrally, under a dome
at the crossing. Externally he proposed a portico for the west
175 façade. In 1765 he published his 'Observations sur l'architecture'.
The book is virtually an appendix to the 'Essai', but it is written
with far more confidence and allows for increased freedom in design -
notably in the design of church interiors. Laugier proposed, among
176 other things, columns of wholly unclassical dimensions and fancifully
suggested that palm fronds serve as capitals. He departed in only
one important respect from the pattern set by Cordenoy - he did not
insist on lintels. Yet Cordenoy must be recognised as the source
177 of the wrangles concerning columns and porticos and the ideal position
for altars that followed the publication of the 'Essai sur l'archi-
tecture'; and it is to Cordenoy, rather than Laugier, that the
alterations and experiments in church design during the late eighteenth
century must be ascribed. Laugier, however, did provide the impetus
for the movement. Hardly a church was built in France in the years
that followed his first publication that did not commemorate his
hypothetical church - it was even realised, somewhat weakly, in 1759,
178 when Leonard Roux built Saint Vincent des Augustins at Lyon. And



39

I 7 179 Contant d'Ivry, as we have seen, was loyal to Laugier's scheme
in the church of Saint Vaast at Arras, projected in 1750, but
not started until 1754. It is demonstrably designed with local
180 churches in mind - notably Saint Pierre at Douai - but the clear-
cut arrangement of columns and lintels, the freestanding columns
at the corners of the crossing in particular, is equally con-
ceived with Neo-classical theories in mind. That they received
their first tentative expression in the north of France was due
largely to the hangover of the gothic tradition in that part of
the world. Contant's work there was not without influence. At
Binche, hardly more than twenty-five miles from Condé-sur-Escaut
181 where Contant had built Saint Vaanon in 1751, Laurentius Dewez
(1731 - 1812) the distinguished architect of the abbey of Orval,
I 2 in Luxembourg, designed the church of the abbey of Bonne Espérance.
The plan is ordered by a ratio of one to two. Corinthian columns
line the nave and, fluted, are carried around the semi-circle of
the apse, giving a fine sense of unity to the central space.
Above, a continuous entablature supports an unusual tunnel-vault,
broken to receive windows. The geometry of this church is crisp
and altogether uncustomary. And it cannot, I think, be un-
connected with Contant d'Ivry or, at the very least, Cordenoy
and Laugier. It is not, however, a successful example of Neo-
classical architecture. Though the disturbed gothic shades



of the churches of northern France provided a liberating stimulus, they were equally limiting in practice, and neither Contant nor Dewez was ever able to elude them to the extent of giving to their architecture an heroic, antique air. Both men lacked the conviction requisite for success. Even the design for the

I 9,19,11
182 Madeleine that Contant prepared in 1761, was marred by this disunity of conception. Yet the church - engraved by Pierre Patte in 1765 -
183 was a conscious adaptation of Neo-classical ideas. It was preceded by a giant Corinthian portico. Columns and lintels were used internally. And the idea of a congregational assembly was expressed geometrically in a vast, centralized space at the crossing - somewhat incongruous in a Latin cross plan. In the centre of this area was the high altar, above was a dome, resting on four clusters of columns. The structural elegance of this feature was undeniable. The weight of the dome was brilliantly supported by buttresses; stabilised, in turn, by the masonry of the circular sacristies placed in the corners of the crossing. The dome thus acted as a ceremonial shelter - a baldachino to the high altar - illustrating in the most remarkable way the ideas that Cordemoy and Frézier had discussed in the early years of the century.

I 12
184 The architecture of the whole, however, was discordant. Even Laugier, who could hardly fail to recognise the virtues of the building, regarded it as no more than a passable compromise. It was, in any case, not built. When Contant died in 1777, the



the work had hardly started, and when Couture took over he radically altered the design. All work, however, was stopped by the advent of the French Revolution.

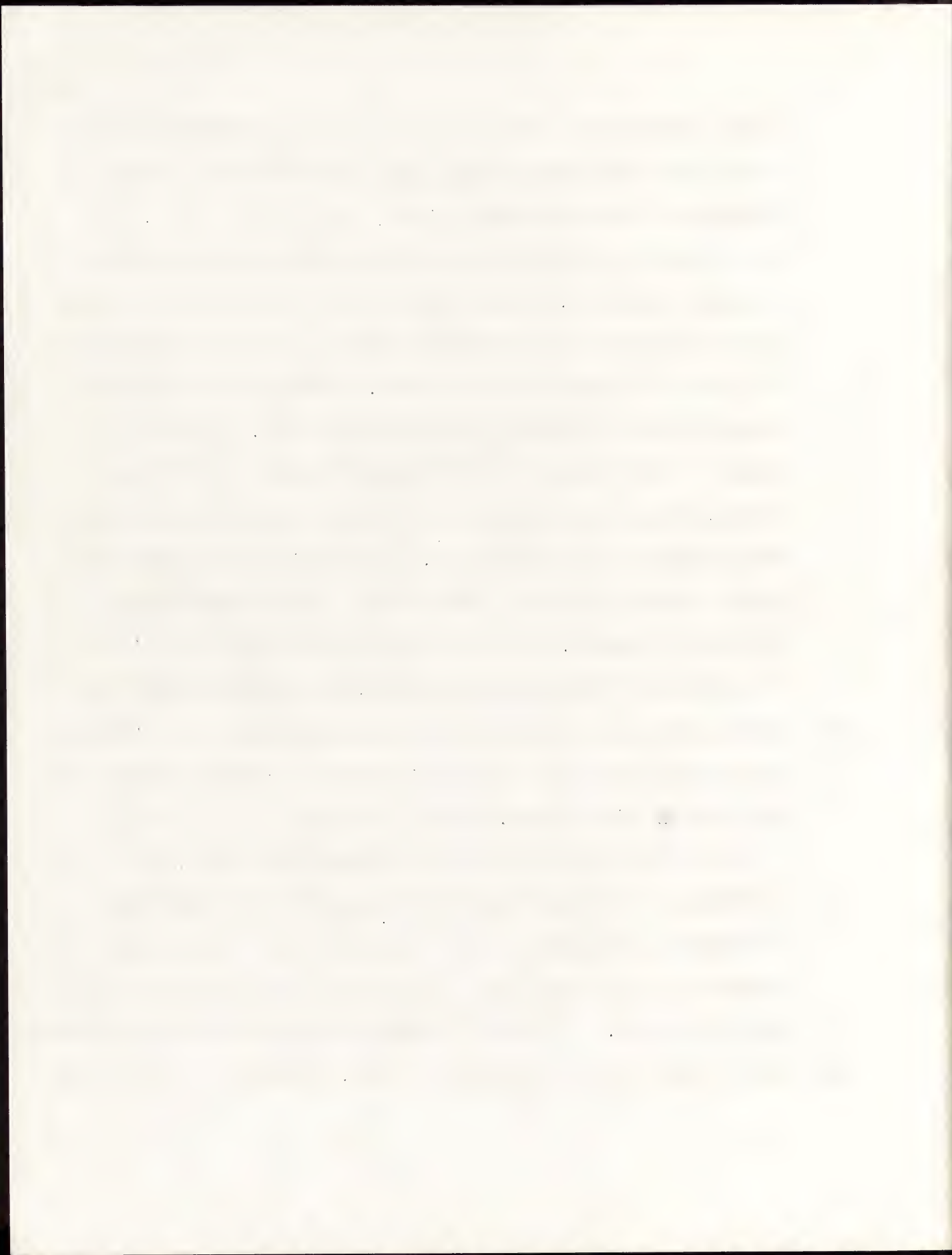
I 15
185 Soufflot, however, provided the vital, imaginative solution to the problem of church design. Sainte Geneviève confirmed the Neo-classical idea. 'Sainte Geneviève', said Laugier in 1780, 'devait être le premier modèle de la parfaite architecture, le véritable chef-d'oeuvre de l'architecture française'. It not only confirmed the Neo-classical ideal; it embodied the dreams of that powerful circle of men who, though Marigny, were directly connected to the court which, even at that time, controlled the world of personalities, politics and culture around which the whole of France revolved. From the first Sainte Geneviève was a royal enterprise - the fulfilment of a vow that Louis XV had made when, in 1744, he lay sick in Metz.

I 14, 15
186 On 2nd March 1756, fourteen months after the church was commissioned, Soufflot's plans were approved by the king, and work was immediately begun. Soufflot's project, engraved in the following year by Bellicard and Charpentier, is in many respects unlike the building that stands today. The plan was a perfect Greek cross. But the cubic-geometry of the great bulk was broken by windows and softened by an accumulation of incident and detail. And the large, awkward lantern designed to dominate the whole was over-articulated and pierced with oeil-de-boeuf openings. To the west arm, however,
187 Soufflot added a giant corinthian portico, derived, it seems, from



Baalbek, but bringing into play a feeling for the Imperial splendour of Rome more real than any that had yet been experienced in France and unrivalled even by Servandoni's facade for Saint Sulpice. And in the interior Soufflot developed the theme of the Roman bath with a wonderful ingenuity. A cluster of vaults and domes were designed to spring lightly from a continuous entablature that was supported by a grid of elegant corinthian columns. Even the lantern was designed to appear to rest on freestanding columns. For the essence of the internal architecture was the suggestion of space defined, but not obstructed by solids - penetration, is perhaps the word to describe this architecture. Soufflot's consciousness of handling space in this way is evident in many of his remarks and even more so in his models. For the columnar theme he laid the *décors* of Servandoni and Piranesi under tribute, while the changes of level
188 between nave and aisle suggest a remembrance not only of the 'Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva' but Jean Francois Blondel's Saint Jean en Grève as well.

I 16 The design of Sainte Geneviève was generally admired, but Soufflot was required to make certain alterations. To satisfy the clergy he was forced to add a small bay to both the west and eastern arms of the church and to append small sacristies on either side of the choir. These he built up to form two square-topped bell
I 17 189 towers, pierced with round-headed openings. To please the connoisseurs



who considered his dome an ignoble affair, he hesitatingly sought for an alternative, not reaching his final solution, however, until 1780, the year of his death.

The design of Sainte Geneviève was a precocious expression of that self-conscious antiquarianism that was to become so marked a feature of the Neo-classical movement. While work went slowly ahead on the foundations of the church (the site was discovered to be a disused clay-pit) Neo-classical taste was promoted by the really active exploration of the Ancient world. Dilettanti and scholars penetrated to classical sites with increasing frequency. And they published the results of their researches in books that were intended to serve not only the needs of scholars, but to provide sources of inspiration for contemporary architects as well.

When, in 1755, Winckelmann published his 'Gedanken über die Nachahmung de Griechischen Werke' - recommending the study of Greek, rather than Roman art - his conclusions were based to a large extent on the handful of Hellenistic and Greco-Roman works illustrated in the books of Bernard de Montfaucon and Caylus. In 1732, however, Pancrazi had brought out the first edition of his 'Antichità Siciliane', containing a number of beguiling, if incorrect, engravings of the Doric temples of Girgenti - the second edition was printed in 1751. In 1753, two members of the Society of Dilettanti, Robert Wood (1716 - 71) and James Dawkins (1722 - 57) - the former



a private gentleman, the latter the son of a rich Jamaican merchant - had issued the 'Ruins of Palmyra' - an imposing performance, the result of three hazardous but well-spent years in Syria, where they travelled, together with John Bouverie, a friend, who died on the journey, and Borra, an Italian draughtsman, who, one imagines, was responsible for most of the work. In 1757 they published 'The Ruins of Balbec', which they had also found time to survey. This year, as we have seen, saw the start of the 'Antichità d'Ercolana'. But the marvels of Greek architecture, so highly praised by Winckelmann, were not revealed to the world in adequate graphic form until, in 1758, Julien David Le Roy (1724 - 1803) produced 'Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce', with its engravings of the buildings of the Acropolis. The book was bitterly attacked by James Stuart, partly on the basis of its inaccuracies, but equally for reasons of personal rivalry. James Stuart (1713 - 88) and his companion,

- 190 Nicholas Revett (c. 1721 - 1804) had preceded Le Roy to Athens, where they arrived after a long delay in Venice, on March 18th, 1751. For three years they had painstakingly and at some risk to themselves, measured up the buildings of that town. They had endorsed no less
- 191 than four proposals (by Colonel George Gray in 1751, by Samuel Ball in 1752, by Dawkins and Wood at some slightly later date, in London, and by Consul Smith, in 1753, at Venice) for the 'Antiquities of Athens', and hoped thus to make a contribution of outstanding



importance to architectural scholarship. Winckelmann himself awaited their work with impatience; writing the introduction to his 192 'Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten' in 1760, he said - 'Dieses werk erwartet man iso mit grossem Verlangen: den es wird weitläuftiger und ausführlicher werden, als die Arbeit des Herrn Le Roy ist, weil jene so viele Jahre, als dieser Monate, in Griechenland gewesen sind'. But Winckelmann was to be disappointed. When the first, superbly produced volume of the 'Antiquities of Athens' appeared in 1762, it was found to contain not the buildings of the Acropolis, as originally proposed, but the smaller ones of the town itself. Stuart and Revett had merely enriched the stock of Greek decorative motifs. They did not provide the material for a full-scale Greek revival until, in 1788, they published the second volume of the 'Antiquities of Athens'. But by then its effect had been anticipated: D'Orville's 'Sicula', written in 1724, was finally published in 1764; the 'Antiquities of Ionia', prepared for the Society of Dilettanti by the Oxonian scholar, Richard Chandler, together with Pars and Nicholas Revett, was published in two volumes, the first in 1764, the second in 1797, while a number of works on the temples of Paestum spread a wider knowledge of Greek 193 architecture - G. M. Dumont's 'Suite de plans, coupes, profils, élévations géométrales et perspectives des trois temples antiques, tels qu'ils existaient en 1750 dans la bourgade de Paestum' (1764) based on Soufflot's drawings; Berkenhout's 'The ruins of Paestum or



Posidonia' (1767); T. Major's 'Les Ruines de Paestum ou Posidonia dans la grande Grèce' (1768) and - curiously - Piranesi's breathtaking engravings of the temples of Paestum, issued a few weeks
194 before his death, in November 1778, by his son Francesco. Curiously, because some years earlier Piranesi had presented himself as a strong opponent of the Greek revival. In 1761 he produced the 'Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani', containing two hundred pages of text and thirty-eight magnificent plates, crowded with details of Roman architecture. This was his first truly polemical work. It was directed against Le Roy's folio and 'A dialogue on Taste' a short essay in praise of Greek and, incidentally, Gothic architecture written by the Scottish painter Alan Ramsay and printed anonymously in 1755, in 'The Investigator'. Le Roy and Ramsay believed in the overwhelming superiority of Greek architecture - a concept so firmly established in France, that from Poussin onwards it is difficult to find anyone in opposition to it - Piranesi on the other hand, his national loyalties strong, set out to prove that classical art had been brought to perfection by the Etruscans and their successors, the Romans. The Greeks, he claimed, had merely indulged in decorative fantasy, while the Etruscans had developed a style as grand as that of the ancient Egyptians. This theory he presented with all the technical virtuosity and wit at his command and it was not surprisingly accepted by a great many Italian scholars.



Three years later the French connoisseur and critic, Mariette, replied in the 'Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe'. He insisted, as
195 one might expect, on the supremacy of Greek architecture - 'Il n'est pas alors aucune production', he wrote of the buildings of ancient Rome, 'qui ne se charge d'ornements superflus et absolument hors d'oeuvre. On sacrifie tout au luxe, et l'on se rend à la fin partisan d'un manière qui ne tarde pas à devenir ridicule et barbare'. This, in turn, produced a furious pamphlet and a packet of nine didactic etchings from Piranesi in which he abandoned his untenable archaeological position, rejected the doctrines of Vitruvius and Lodoli and ventured all on creative genius. The result, in the *Parere su l'Architettura* (1765) was a series of designs in which motifs borrowed from Etruscan and Roman sources were jumbled together to form an architecture as original as anything in the 'Carceri' and almost as improbable. Four years later he compromised still further with archaeology, showing in the 'Diversi maniere d'adornar i cammini,' that Greek, Roman, Etruscan and Egyptian forms and motifs could be used as points of departure for the most wilful and idiosyncratic designs. His recognition of the beauty inherent in the temples of Paestum can hardly, therefore, be regarded as a volte face - archaeology as such had by then virtually ceased to matter for him.

The Paestum doric did not appear in France until 1778, when Claude Nicholas Ledoux boldly incorporated it into his design for the



interior of the theatre at Besançon. A few years later (two or three at the most) a squat Tuscan order was used by Jacques Denis

I 18 196 Antoine for the portico of the Convent de la Charité in Paris, and
I 19 197 by Alexandre Théodore Brongniart for the porch and the cloisters
of the Capucins de la Chaussée d'Antin (now the Lycée Condorcet) in
Paris. But the consequences of the published propaganda on antique
architecture and, in particular, Winckelmann's 'Anmerkungen über
die Baukunst der Alten', issued in 1762 - to be followed two years
later by his magnum opus, the 'Gesichte der Kunst des Alterthums -
were sufficiently clear in the early 1760's for critics to exaggerate
and ridicule them.

198 'Depuis quelques années', wrote Grimm in 1763, 'on a recherché
les ornements et les formes antiques. Le goût y a gagné considérablement
et la mode est devenue si générale que tout se fait aujourd'hui à
la grecque. La décoration intérieure et extérieure des bâtiments, les
meubles, les étoffes, les bijoux de toute espèce, tout est à Paris à
la grecque'. Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann on April 9th
199 1764, after his return from Paris, said 'They are as formal as we
were in Queen Anne's days, and believe they make discoveries when they
adopt what we have had these twenty years. For instance, they begin
to see beauties in the Antique - everything must be à la Grecque -
accordingly, the lace on their waist-coats is copied from a frieze.
Monsieur de Guerchy, seeing a Doric fret on a fender at Woburn, which
was common before I went abroad, said to the Duchess of Bedford,



89
"Comment! Madame, vous avez là du Grec, sans le savoir!" The
so-called Greek manner was thus often a frivolous fashion, far removed
from the noble classicity of Greek architecture. Cochin, indeed,
inclined to view it as a somewhat dubious by-product of the tendency
200 towards revision, evident already in the 1750's - 'Enfin', he wrote
in his Mémoires, 'tout le monde se remit, ou tâcha de se remettre sur
la voye du bon goust du siècle précédent. Et comme il faut que tout
soit tourné en scubriquet à Paris, on appela cela de l'architecture à
la grecque et bientôt on fit jusqu'à des galons et des rubans à la
grecque; il ne resta bon goust qu'entre les mains d'un petit nombre
de personne et devient une folie entre les mains des autres'.

Yet Le Roy's 'Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce'
did initiate a serious interest in the architecture of Antiquity; the
possibility of putting up an authentic-looking Antique structure - not
just a stylistic conceit - was widely discussed. Interest centered,
as can be imagined, on the problem of re-creating an Antique temple.
But the problem was infinitely complicated. Cordenoy's influence
proclaimed itself in a liking for columnar arrangements in church
201 interiors. Desgodetz's lessons, delivered between 1719 and 1728,
strongly recommending the study of early Christian churches and basilicas,
were well-remembered. And Laugier's authority was stern. The ideas
of these men were confirmed, moreover, in a series of articles published,
anonymously, in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux' between October 1758 and



202 December 1760. These articles (there were seventeen in all) were written by the Abbé Maïor, known also as Père Avril. The first seven dealt with the antiquities of Rome and Roman temple design, the next three were on early Christian and gothic churches, then followed two articles on Sancta Sophia and five on 'la renaissance de l'architecture grecque'. Maïor adopts no new theoretical standpoint; but it is at least possible that when these articles were revised and printed together under the title 'Temples Anciens et Modernes' (1774) they had as much influence on the disposition of late eighteenth century churches as Laugier's works. In 1764, David Le Roy wrote the 'Histoire de la disposition des formes des temples' which likewise served to stimulate discussion on church design. But it was Soufflot's great church that provided the first model for Neo-classical architects. On September 8th, 1764, the
203 king laid the foundation-stone of the superstructure. To dignify the occasion Soufflot's projected portico was set up in timber and canvas, giving to Paris its first real impression of an Antique temple front. The effect must have been enormous. More authentic-looking Antique temple fronts were illustrated in the following year, in the eighth volume of J.F. de Neufforge's 'Recueil élémentaire de l'architecture' - which started to come out in 1757 and continued until 1777, progressively changing in character under the influence of the works of Piranesi - and in M. J. Peyre's



'Livre d'Architecture' published in 1765, a book of compelling interest which illustrated at once how a knowledge of Antique architecture could be assimilated and subordinated to the Neo-classical ideal. But it was the portico of Soufflot's church that created the strongest impact. Yet it was not the sanction for more and more accurate archaeological reconstruction alone that makes Ste. Geneviève, and its portico in particular, so important in the history of the Neo-classical movement. The church embodies in an extraordinary way another aspect of the movement - an insistence on structural refinement, almost as characteristic of late eighteenth century architecture in France as the stress on Antique precedent. Sainte Geneviève is indeed the catalyst of all activity and discussion on building techniques in the late eighteenth and even the early nineteenth century.

204 During the first half of the eighteenth century, neither in what is now called architecture, nor in what is called engineering was there any school of technical knowledge. Few really intricate engineering feats or even great bridges had been undertaken since the Middle Ages. Architects trained by apprenticeship learned what little they could about construction from their masters and relied for the most part on the traditional knowledge of masons and carpenters, fast-bound by precedent. But with the development of a rational architectural doctrine some ability to work out an entire scheme theoretically before putting it in hand was required.



Technical questions, therefore, began to assume a new importance. Jacques Francois Blondel gave a progressive emphasis to the problems of construction in his architectural school in the early eighteenth century and a number of books were published at this period dealing with building techniques - Delarue's 'Traité de Construction' (1727) -
205 Frézier's 'Théorie et Pratique de la Coupe des Pierres'; in its early highly complex edition (1737 - 1739) and in its later, more readily understood format (1747) - and Dérand's seventeenth century work 'L'Architecture des Voûtes', which was reprinted both in 1743 and 1755. Yet for any task outside the range of common building practice, any task requiring special resource and ingenuity, a greater authority was required.

Towards the end of Louis XIV's reign certain architects turned away from architecture itself and gave a new emphasis to the study of engineering. Their activities led to the formation of the Corps
206 des Ponts et Chaussées, an independent but not exclusive body. Boffrand, for instance, was at one time 'ingénieur-en-chef.' But not until 1747 were engineers given any specialized training. In that year Prudaine, newly-appointed director of the Corps, founded the 'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées.' Its first director was J.R.
207 Perronet (1708-1794) a man of some influence in the architectural world. He was the son of a Swiss guard. He was a pupil of Beausire, architect of the Petit Pont. But he soon surpassed his master in structural skill. In 1737 he was made 'sous-ingénieur de la



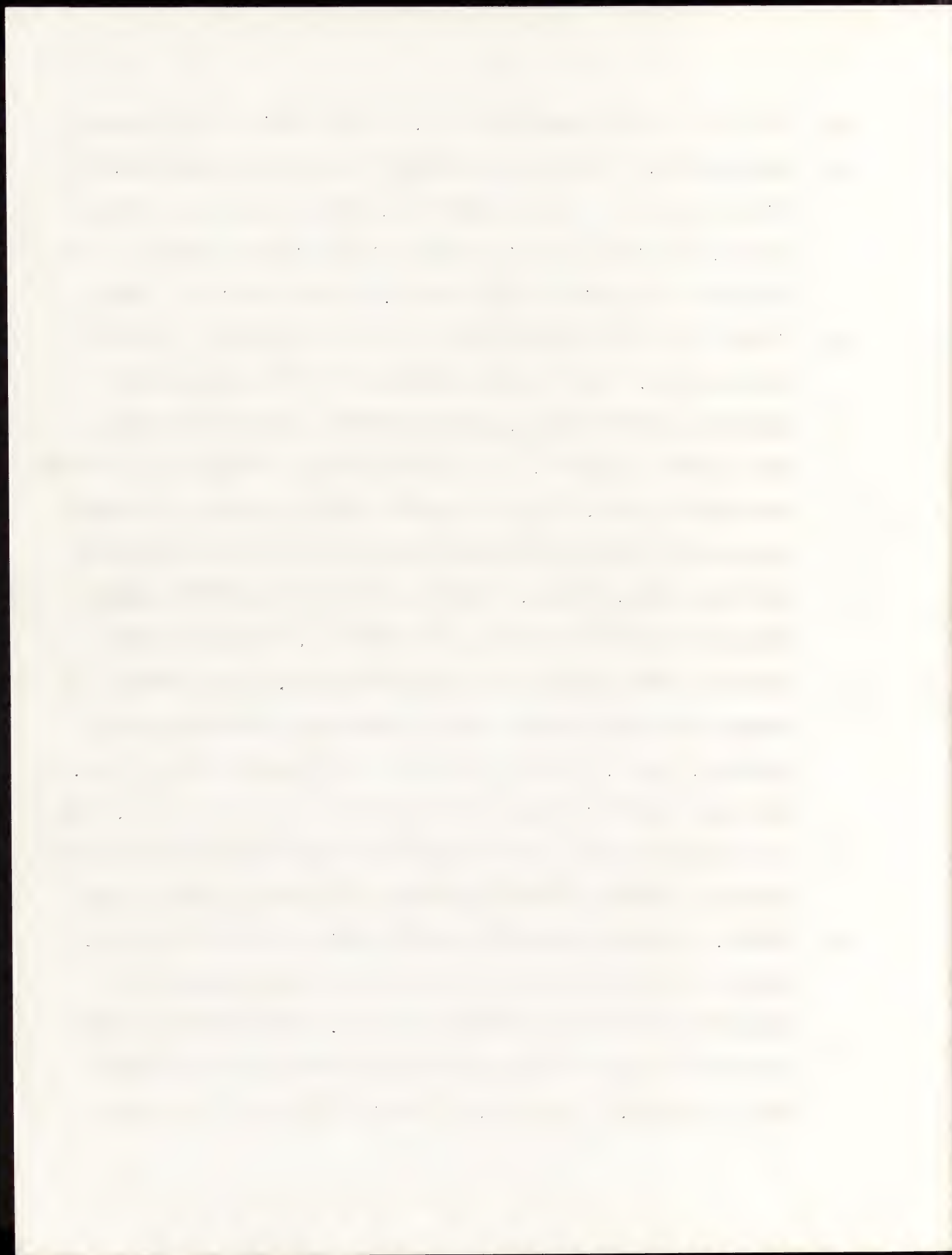
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Généralité d'Alençon'; two years later he was appointed 'ingénieur-en-chef'. He rebuilt and restored a number of churches in that area, being responsible in particular for the choir and clocktower of the cathedral at Alençon. But he won his fame as a bridge-builder. He constructed eleven great bridges in France - including the Pont de Neuilly and the Pont de la Concorde - and one in Russia; all of which show an unusual and highly developed sense of structural precision and economy. He brought something of the art of the Swiss watchmaker to bear on the problems of bridge-building. And it is not surprising, therefore, that his rare structural mastery was admired and even envied by contemporary architects - and by Soufflot in particular. For the activities of the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées were not without effect in architectural circles.

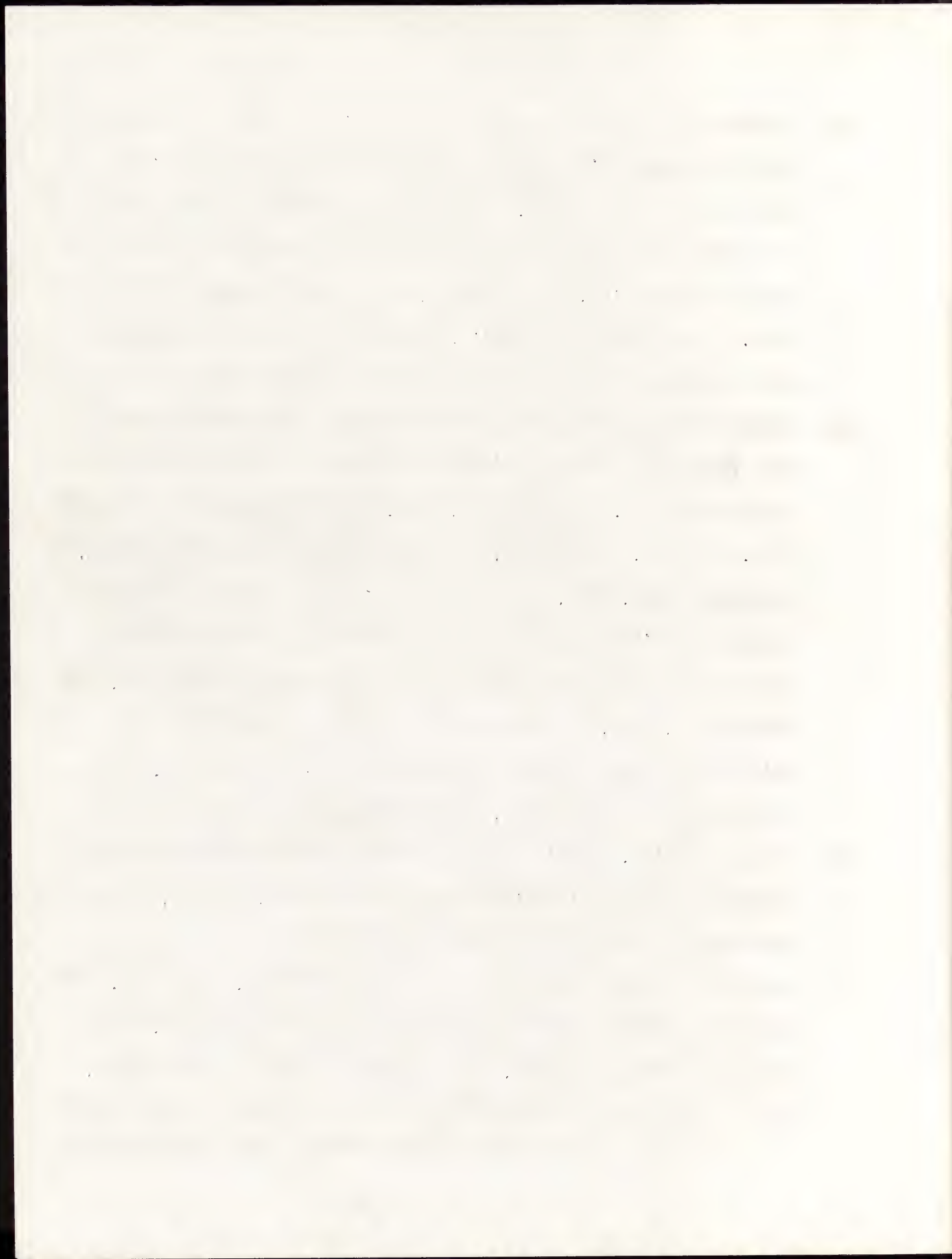
- 208 Around the middle of the century the Academy, overcoming the embarrassment of the architectural profession, gave increased attention to the mechanics of architecture. Architects became more and more
- 209 concerned with structural techniques. Soufflot and Contant d'Ivry studied the problems of construction assiduously. Soufflot, as we have seen, built the quays and the embankments of Lyon. Both
- 210 men experimented with J. B. Franque's special favourite - 'la voûte à la Roussillon' - a simply constructed flat brick vault; Contant d'Ivry using 'voûtes à la Roussillon' in 1747 for the Abbaye de Pentemont, Paris, and a few years later for the Maréchal de Belle Isle's chateau at Bizy (Bure); Soufflot incorporating them, in



211 1756, in the sacristy of Notre Dame. 'On a adopté,' wrote Pierre
212 Patte in 1765, of the renewed interest in building construction,
'l'usage fort ancien dans le Roussillon, de former les planchers en
briques, que l'on a employées avec succès, à l'Abbaye Royale de
Fenthemont et au trésor de Notre Dame'. But Soufflot's and Contant
213 d'Ivry's real contributions came - as Patte recognized - in their
church designs. Both men sought there to refine the art of building
construction and to reduce, as far as possible, the mass of masonry
used in their structures. The Madeleine was a conception of
I 9-12 considerable daring. Its dome, poised on four clusters of columns
was supported by buttresses flying over the open space of the centre
to be stabilized, in turn, by the mass of the masonry forming the
four sacristies in the corners of the crossing. And throughout
the church elegant columns were used as supports. At Sainte
I 13 Geneviève Soufflot developed this columnar theme with even greater
authority, though, it must be admitted, with less structural daring.
Yet it was Soufflot's church that provoked the most controversy. For
when Contant d'Ivry died in 1777 his church was scarcely started and
its design was drastically altered by his successor and pupil
214 Couture. The foundations of Sainte Geneviève were carefully laid.
Soufflot studied the stones of the Ile de France and constructed
machines to measure their breaking stresses. In June 1760 he even
copied out a report on the building stones of Paris, prepared in
1678 for Colbert. Certainly, Soufflot's unfailing attention was

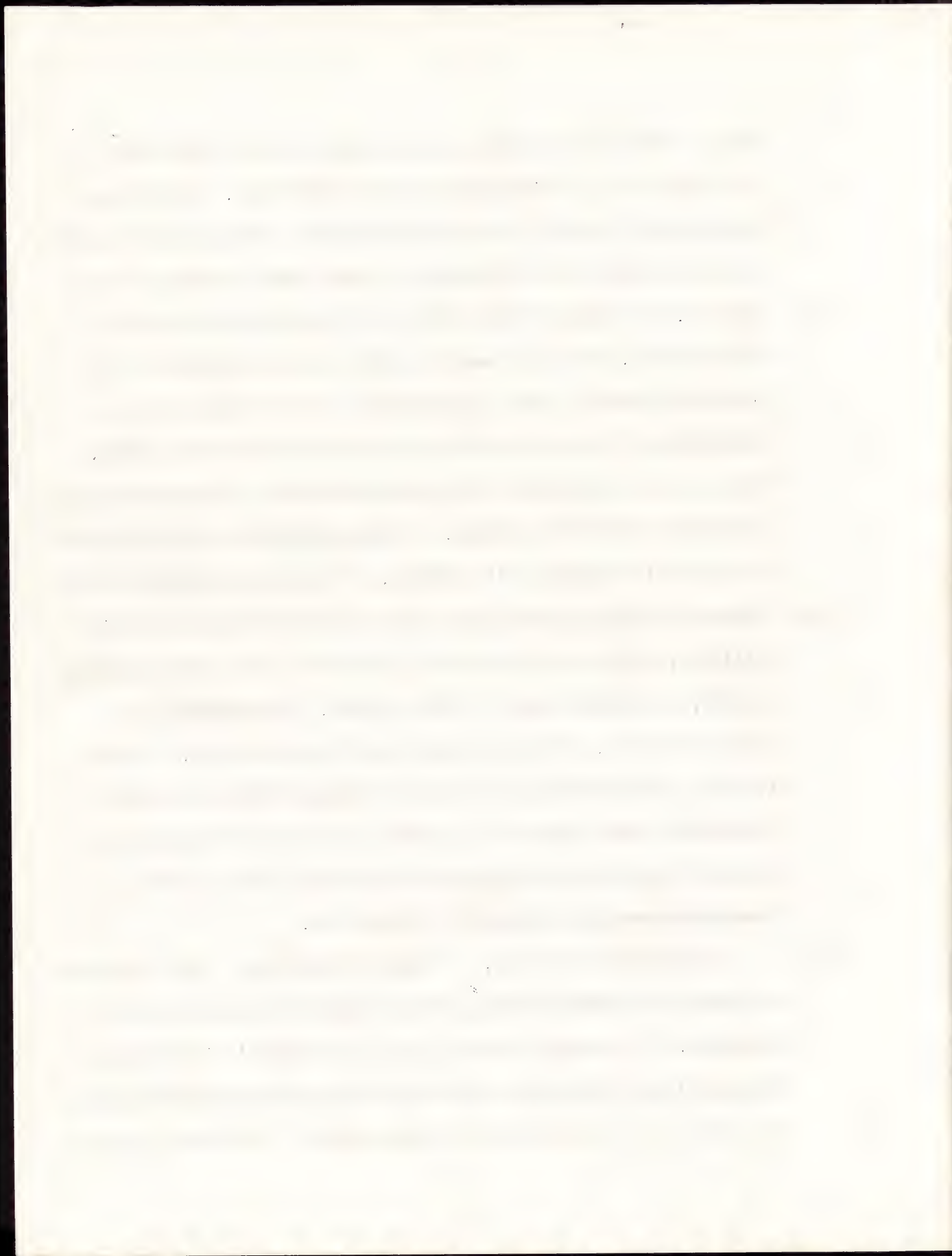


215 well-known to his contemporaries - 'Les précautions que l'on apporte
pour la parfaite exécution de ce monument doivent le rendre éternel,'
wrote Pierre Patte in 1765. Yet there were evidently some doubts as
to the possibility of supporting the complex system of vaults and the
dome of the crossing, in particular, on elegant columns and light-
piers. For in the early 1760's, Soufflot and his circle conducted
what can only be regarded as a concerted campaign to convince the
216 members of the Academy of the practicability of the construction;
they presented a series of structurally elegant churches to the Academy
for consideration. On March 2nd, 1761, Soufflot discussed the church
of St. Agostino, in Piacenza, built in 1669 by the Abbate Bagarotti.
15 On December 22nd, 1761, he delivered a Mémoire on a number of Gothic
churches - a Mémoire that he had read twenty years earlier to the
Academy at Lyon - stressing the lightness of Gothic construction. On
February 1st, 1762, he presented the drawings of Perronet for the
choir of the college church at Mantes - a half-gothic affair. Then,
in November of the same year, he submitted a set of measured drawings
217 of Sant Agostino, sent in by his pupil Edmond Petitot (1727 - 1801) -
a disciple likewise of Caylus at whose instigation, in 1753, he was
appointed architect to the Duke of Parma and for whom he built a
few years later the church of San Liborio at Colorno, near Parma.
This church was clearly influenced by current French thought. Early
in December 1762 Le Jolivet, a corresponding member of the Academy,
sent in a series of drawings of Nôtre Dame de Dijon - a thirteenth

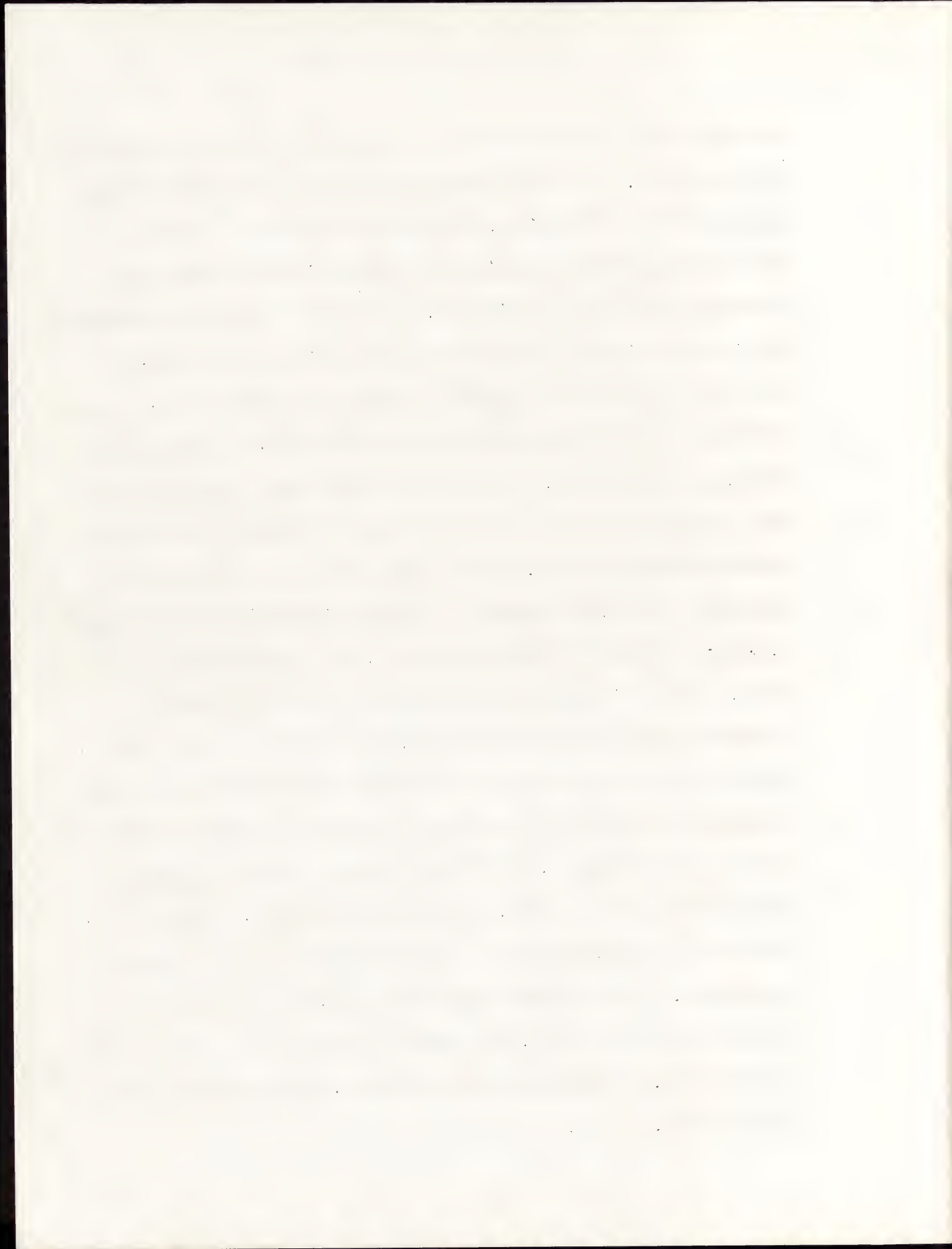


century church that Soufflot had measured up years before in connection with his *Mémoire* on Gothic architecture. And it was appropriately Soufflot, together with Moreau, who was asked to make a report on both the construction of this church and that of Sant
218 Agostino. On December 20th 1762 the two men made their report. They stressed, as can be imagined, the extreme lightness of the structures and suggested, in consequence, that a serious reconsideration of the usually accepted margins of safety be adopted. There can be no doubt that the accumulated effect of this propaganda served to reassure the Academy. Work proceeded on Sainte Geneviève with the full support of its members. The one importunate critic
219 Desboeufs de Saint Laurent who dared to cast doubt on Soufflot's abilities, both as an engineer and a designer, in a *Mémoire* written in 1765, was rudely rebuked by the Academy. He continued his attacks, however, and even proposed an alternate scheme. But by 1768 the walls of Sainte Geneviève had reached the level of the entablature under Soufflot's direction and Soufflot was about to shoulder his greatest statical problems when a new and more formidable adversary appeared - Pierre Patte.

220 Patte was a bitter man. A pupil of Boffrand - whose biography he wrote - and later Le Camus, he had turned from architecture to engraving. He prepared several plates for Blondel's '*Architecture Française*' in 1762 and two years later was selling copies of plates from Piranesi's '*Prima Parte di Architettura*'; but he was probably



best known for his work on the Encyclopédie, for which he directed the engravings. In 1759, however, he quarrelled furiously with the editors of the Encyclopédie. In the following year he took charge of the engravings for the Académie des Sciences's great publication 'Description des Arts et Métiers'. But his finest achievement was the 'Monumens érigés à la Gloire de Louis XV' issued in 1765. This work gave evidence of an awakened interest in town-planning, architecture and in the mechanics of architecture. Patte praised there, as we have seen, the structural elegance of the buildings of both Soufflot and Contant d'Ivry and he engraved the Madeleine in three magnificent plates. He confirmed his new-found interest in structure in 1767, in an article in the Année Littéraire in which he viciously attacked Parisian contractors, and developed it, two years later, in his 'Mémoires sur les Objets les plus importants de l'Architecture', a work which showed, as his contemporaries agreed, that he was not lacking in a sound knowledge of building construction. In 1761 he had been made architect to the Duc de Deux Ponts, for whom and for whose successor, he put up several buildings; the only one of any consequence, however, was a church at Balbec, begun in 1774. Patte was desirous, therefore, of obtaining fresh and challenging commissions. Around 1766 he asked Soufflot, as Contrôleur des Bâtimens du Roi in Paris, to appoint him inspector of the work at the Madeleine. Soufflot, however, refused. Patte turned then to Saint Sulpice. In December 1767 he prepared the first of his



schemes for the completion of the portico, along the lines suggested by Servandoni in 1742. In the following month he submitted another, slightly altered, scheme to the Academy for approval. But though the members of the Academy approved his schemes in March 1768, they tactlessly appointed Oudot de MacLaurin to carry them out. Patte was furious. He appealed to Soufflot, who wrote in turn to Marigny, recognizing the justice of Patte's complaint but pointing out, at the same time, that it would be difficult to persuade the Academy to rescind its decision. Oudot de MacLaurin remained in charge of the work. Patte, suspecting that Soufflot had not given him his fullest support, became from that time an implacable enemy of the great architect. And Soufflot shrewdly assessed him as a dangerous opponent: he sought at once to reconcile him. When, in the following year, he heard that Patte was preparing to go to London with N. H. Jardin, architect to the King of Denmark, in order to measure up St. Paul's, he thought that an opportunity had presented itself to win him over. He sought a meeting. Patte declined all Soufflot's invitations at first; but finally consented to dine with him. He was rewarded with an introduction to William Chambers, then the chief ornament of the architectural profession in London. But at the same time Patte was persuaded to take in his party one of Soufflot's pupils, M. Roche, who was to measure up St. Paul's on Soufflot's account. For Soufflot was then uneasily seeking a solution for the much-criticized dome of Sainte Geneviève.



71

The journey, undertaken in April 1769, was of extreme importance for the future of Soufflot's great church. In the first place there can
221 be no doubt that the final design for his dome, published a few years later, was directly derived from that of Wren's cathedral. In the second place, Patte's study of St. Paul's convinced him that the four piers then being built at Sainte Geneviève would not support the dome that Soufflot had planned. A few weeks after his return from London Patte wrote his famous 'Mémoire sur la construction du Dôme projeté pour couronner l'église de Sainte-Geneviève'. His shattering analysis was not part of a sound mathematical argument, but was based rather on empirical observations trotted out to support a belief. Within a few months the most celebrated of eighteenth century architectural quarrels had flared up. The whole of the architectural world was divided. Marigny chose to remain impartial. But the other members
222 of Soufflot's circle all rose to support him with a horde of Mémoires
223 and pamphlets - Perronet wrote in the *Mémoire de France*; E. Gauthier (1732 - 1806), his pupil, wrote an excellent 'Mémoire sur l'application des principes de la mécanique à la construction des voûtes et des dômes' and convincingly illustrated Soufflot's ideas in the curious church that he built at Givry in 1770. Cochin, Couture and, perhaps,
224 Le Camus de Mézières wrote anonymous pamphlets on Soufflot's behalf. Grimm and the Abbé Maier upheld him in their writings; even astronomers and mathematicians, Pingré, Montucla and the Abbé Bossut testified in his favour. And Soufflot himself sought to justify his design; he



wrote reassuringly to Marigny and he described his models to the Academy -- Sant Apostino at Piacenza; San Carlo al Corso at Rome; the Capella della Santa Sindone at Turin, by Guarini; Santa Maria della Salute in Venice, and various Gothic churches, among them St. Nisier in Lyon. The fuss and intrigue continued for years. But if the world of architecture was sharply divided on the issue, it was unequally divided. The doctrine that Patte upheld was cautious, provincial and uninspiring; it stood almost in relation of first cousin to the rationalism of Soufflot and his friends and seemed therefore to the members of the Academy susceptible of destruction. Patte asserted that empirical knowledge was of prime importance in the formulation of structural principles. Soufflot, Perronet, Gauthey and, later, Jean Baptiste Rondelet (1734 - 1829), Soufflot's favourite pupil, stressed rather the development of an abstract theory based on mathematical calculation and experiment. They built machines to measure the compressive strengths of stones and conceived a museum, with a laboratory, where the nature and property of materials might be studied. And they co-ordinated and interpreted their results intellectually with formulae and mathematical logic. It was small wonder, therefore, that the Academy inclined to prefer Soufflot's brand of rationalism and to accept his designs for Sainte Geneviève.

By 1774 Soufflot's battle seemed won. The Comte d'Angiviller, who succeeded Marigny as 'Directeur Générale des Bâtiments' firmly suppressed all further discussion on Sainte Geneviève. The drum



31

of the dome was started. But in 1776, two of the four main piers were found to be cracking, and to Patte's delight d'Angiviller was obliged to set up a commission of enquiry. Soufflot was vindicated; the fault was found to lie in bad workmanship. Defiantly, he issued a design for an even more imposing dome. But his triumph was to be ephemeral. For there were serious faults in the construction of
225 the piers. The exposed faces were built of a harder and stronger stone than the core, causing unequal stresses, and the exposed joints were made finer - with much less mortar - than those on the inside, increasing further the irregularity of subsidence. And Patte was beginning to appreciate these defects. In 1777 he once again presented his case against Sainte Geneviève and his analysis was on this occasion more scrupulous and convincing. The work in which he presented his case, moreover, added considerably to its authority - the 'Cours d'Architecture' by J. F. Blondel, the last two volumes of which were written and published by Patte in 1777 and 1778.

These books dealt with construction. And Patte's study, infinitely more thorough than any that Blondel himself could have undertaken, was immediately recognized as a contribution of the highest importance to architecture. It established him as an authority on construction and showed that he excelled in a knowledge of building techniques: he described all kinds of building materials; he explained in detail the laying of foundations, the building of walls and vaults and roofs. He ventured to recommend the use of



such materials as pisé-de-terre and cast-iron; though iron, he stressed, permissible as a structural material - for the columns of a hot-house, for instance - was to be used with great caution - 'le
226 fer ne devroit jamais être employé dans une édifice comme un agent principal; il faut s'en servir seulement comme d'un moyen précaire'. He dealt with plumbing and cisterns and cess-pits. He reprinted articles from the building code and described the manner of making an accurate estimate. His work is full of sound, practical advice suggestive of years of experience and thought. But he seems to have formulated no new doctrine on the basis of his knowledge. His aesthetic
228 is that of Blondel - 'On doit', he wrote, 'à M. M. Servandoni, Cartaud, Boffrand et à quelques uns de nos meilleurs architectes qui ne s'étoient pas laissés entraîner par le torrent de la mode, le retour du bon goût'. Though it is fair to add that the interiors illustrated by Patte are far more severe than those shown by Blondel.

Patte's special province was building construction. His heroes were Frézier and Wren - 'le premier des constructeurs modernes' -
229 'Son style d'architecture', he wrote, 'est quelquefois peu correct; 230 à l'exemple des hommes de génie, il négligeait volontiers les détails, et ne cherchait qu'à plaire par le bel effet de la masse totale de ses édifices; mais de même que l'on va en Italie et en Grèce pour étudier les belles proportions et les ordonnances d'architecture des monuments antiques; il faudrait aller en Angleterre pour étudier la construction des édifices de Wren, pour apprendre à raisonner cette partie, et à ne point opérer au hasard, comme l'on fait communément.' Soufflot, if



251 we are to judge by his *Mémoire* on St. Mary-le-Bow, read to the Academy X
on July 2nd 1770, would have endorsed this statement. Indeed Patte's
outlook was in many ways not unlike that of Soufflot. The last two
volumes of the 'Cours' are indeed an analysis of architecture expressive
of a faith in economy of means and a refinement of structural forms.
But the empirical twist that Patte gave to his rationalism served,
of necessity, to set him in opposition to Soufflot and his circle of
theorizing friends.

Patte continued therefore to attack the construction of Sainte
Geneviève. He alarmed d'Angiviller and he caused Soufflot considerable
discomfort in the ensuing years. Yet when Soufflot died in August
1780 d'Angiviller appointed as his successors his pupils, Brébion, J. R.
Rondelet and Soufflot-le-Romain. Rondelet at once assumed control.
He completed the main portico, the vaults of the nave and the transepts
and supervised the construction of the dome. By 1790 the church was
virtually complete. But in the following year, at the instigation of
232 Quatremère-de-Quincy (1755 - 1849), a classical scholar and archaeologist,
a series of alterations were started which were to change the character
of Sainte Geneviève enormously - and even its name, for thenceforth
the building became known as the Panthéon. The towers at the east end
were removed, the windows filled in and the sculptures in the pediment
altered. The result was a structure far more severe and correct in
the Neo-classical sense than any envisaged by Soufflot. Yet it is
I 31, 32 Quatremère-de-Quincy's impress that is today too readily recognised
as the essence of Soufflot's style.



84

Towards the end of the century the piers were found once again
233 to be in danger of collapse and the old controversy flared up. Soufflot's
old host rose to his defence. Though it was Rondelet who defended him
most successfully. Patte gleefully suggested that the dome be removed.
But he in turn was attacked by C. F. Viel de Saint Maux (1745 - 1819),
a pupil of Chalgrin, who had definite and rather autocratic ideas of his
own. He printed a number of tracts on the subject of the dome, most
of which were included in his 'Principes de l'Ordonnance et de la
Construction des Bâtimens', published between 1797 and 1814. Other
234 architects, too, put forward their proposals: Antoine, E. La Barre,
Vandoyer, C. M. Delagardette, C. De Wailly, A. J. B. G. Gisiers, Chalgrin
and others wrote pamphlets and papers - for all were eager to obtain so
important a commission. Rondelet was, however, appointed in 1806 to
restore the Panthéon by increasing the size of its piers - a task he
completed with great understanding. For Rondelet was the true heir to
Soufflot. He completed many of his buildings and, as we shall see,
carried the tradition of his teaching right into the nineteenth century -
235 'Le Sieur Rondelet', Soufflot declared, 'a tout mon secret, je le regarde
comme un autre moi même.'

Soufflot's rational aesthetic dominated architecture in the late
eighteenth century. No architect in France, however retiring, however
reactionary, can have been unaware of the problems with which he was
coping and of the solutions which he proposed. His works were known
to all. And his ideas were increasingly accepted and developed with
a ruthless logic by the architects of the younger generation; so that,



by the end of the century his buildings were hardly admissible as
236 satisfactory expressions of his teachings. In the middle years of
the century, however, his buildings were often imitated and even
copied by enthusiastic admirers. It is tempting, therefore -
perhaps a little too tempting - to associate the designs of three
important, initiatory works of the Neo-classical movement with
Soufflot - St. Symphorien at Montreuil, St. Louis at St. Germain-en-
Laye and the most famous of late eighteenth century churches, St.
Philippe du Roule. All three have a basilical plan not, it seems,
unlike that proposed in 1754, by Soufflot, for the cathedral of
Rennes.

I 33,34 Saint Philippe du Roule was designed by Jean Francois Thérèse
237 Chalgrin (1739 - 1811). Chalgrin was for a short time Servandoni's
pupil: he worked then for L. A. Lurion and E. L. Boullée and in
1758, at the age of nineteen, performed the feat of winning the
Grand Prix. He left the following year for Rome, from where he
corresponded with Soufflot. On May 9th, 1763, he left Rome. Back
in Paris he was appointed Inspecteur des Travaux de la Ville and
charged by Louis Phelipeaux, Comte de St. Florentin - later Duc
de la Vrillière - Ministre de la Maison du Roi, to prepare designs
for Saint Philippe du Roule. The first project was probably done
in 1764, for it is mentioned in Peyre's 'Livre d'Architecture'
published in the following year. But the site was not acquired until
May 1767, and the Academy not asked to approve the plans until August



1768. Work was begun within the next four years, but only in 1774 did the Comte de Provence - brother of Louis XVI and future Louis XVIII - lay the foundation stone of the church. It was consecrated on April 30th, 1784.

238 The arrogant novelty of the design of St. Philippe du Roule was thus not fully appreciated until late in the 1790's. But it was at once discussed and admired. The plan is basilical, with an apse and free-standing columns. The columns carry an entablature which in turn supports a deeply coffered tunnel-vault. The arrangement, the natural inference is, derives from an early Christian basilica. But this explanation is altogether too partial. Cordemoy's and Laugier's ideas are commemorated in St. Philippe du Roule, and even Palladio, Quatremère de Quincy has suggested, is laid under tribute. Though it is fair to add that the Venetian insisted on the use of free-standing columns only in his domestic works; neither in S. Giorgio Maggiore nor in the Redentore did he incorporate either the basilical plan or the free-standing columns of the nave of St. Philippe du Roule; Chalgrin could, however, have borrowed the arc of isolated columns in his apse from the Redentore. But this motif was not unknown in the north of France and
239 in the old Pays Bas, from where Chalgrin seems to have taken a number of features. The basilical plan was exemplified in that area in the traditional Hallenkirchen, several of which had arcs of free-standing columns around their altars - a motif developed from the Gothic ambulatory. And the coffered tunnel-vault, so singular a feature of



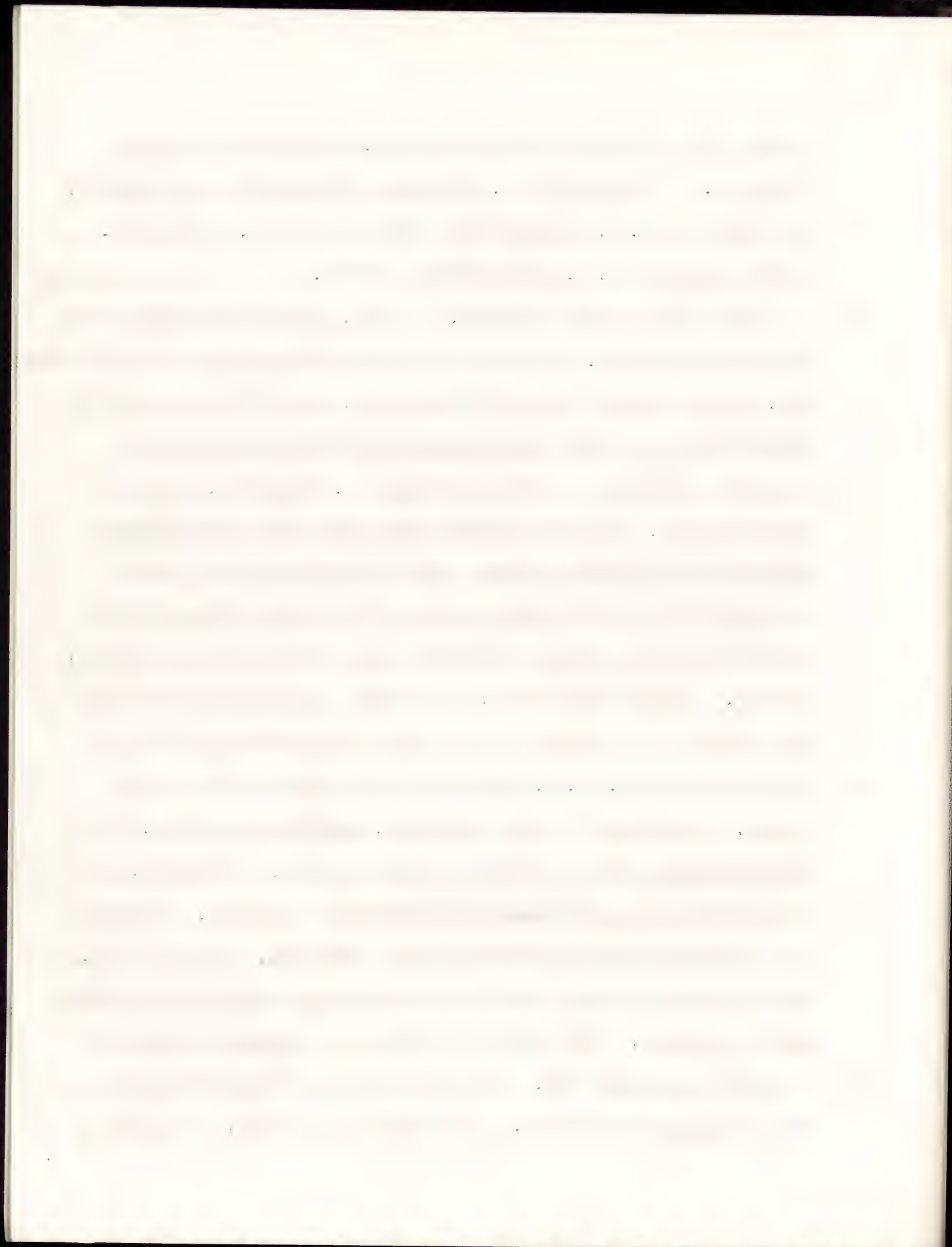
Chalgrin's church - a feature without parallel in the Christian
240 basilicas of Italy - had been used in 1615, in the Jesuit church of
241 St. Charles Borromée, at Anvers; in Notre Dame d'Hanswyck at Malines,
likewise a seventeenth century church; and more recently in St. Jacques
sur Coudenberg at Brussels. While recognizing the influence of early
basilicas on the design of St. Philippe du Roule, it does therefore seem
necessary to emphasize equally, that of the churches of the north. How
far the pattern of their design is evident in Chalgrin's work is
242 apparent in comparing the interiors of St. Philippe du Roule and the
church of Bonne Espérance at Binche - one of the most recent and most
sophisticated of the northern churches. And one that was influenced
in turn, as we have seen, by Parisian theories. The church of Bonne
Espérance is, however, no more than a variation of the 'Hallenkirchen'
theme, with all its values of mass, spacing and linear texture
inherited from the Middle Ages. St. Philippe du Roule is an advanced
Neo-classical work; it has a coherency and a feeling for classical
unity; it is stern, stark and heavy, with a frontispiece of four
Tuscan columns carrying an over-simplified entablature and a low
pediment of 'Antique' character. It was at once successful, and is
even today accounted a masterpiece; though it has been twice modified -
by Godde, who added the Chapelle de la Vierge in 1846 - by Baltard
who built the Chapelle des Catéchismes in 1853.

The basilicas of Montreuil and St. Germain-en-Laye, though
projected concurrently with St. Philippe du Roule, have received
less than their just reward of recognition and praise; partly



because they are lesser works but, equally, because they are less well-known. The church of St. Symphorien at Montreuil, in Versailles, was designed by L. F. Trouard (1729 - 97); that of St. Louis at St. Germain-en-Laye by N. M. Potain (1713? - 1796?).

- 243 Trouard was a pupil of Lorient. In 1753, at the age of twenty-four, he won the Grand Prix. He travelled to Rome in the autumn of the following year. On his return he worked at Versailles, where he was responsible for the barracks of the Gardes Françaises and other large but unremarkable buildings. In 1764 he designed St. Symphorien. It is a simple basilica, with a semi-circular apse and a high-ceilinged nave lined with free-standing columns. The west front has three doors surmounted by bas-relief panels, screened by a heavy portico of four Tuscan columns supporting an entablature and a high-sloping, unadorned, pediment. Consecrated in 1770, the church is surprisingly severe in style and must, one imagines, have created a considerable impression
- 244 on those who saw it. N. M. Potain is a more enigmatic figure than Trouard. Extravagantly praised by Cochin, Soufflot and Marigny, he does not appear to have fulfilled his early promise. Certainly, his contribution to the development of architecture was modest. Winner of the Grand Prix in 1738, he worked in Rome until 1744, measuring up St. Peter's (as Soufflot had done in 1737) and then travelled through Italy studying theatres. The result, in 1763, was an unusual project for
- 245 a theatre on a corner site. The auditorium was elliptical in plan with receding tiers of seats. The elevations, however, were less



striking, they suggest a fondness for Gabriel's work: balustrades and pro-style porticos of Ionic columns gave to them a quiet and reticent air, but the relationship between the window openings and the wall spaces and the decorative details, in particular, betray a fondness for seventeenth century architecture. Marigny much admired such examples of Potain's work. When, therefore, the question of the cathedral and the archbishop's palace at Rennes was taken up again in 1762, Marigny tactfully suggested to Soufflot that Potain be put in
246 charge of the work - 'si en 1754 j'avais pu prévoir la quantité des différentes occupations qui nécessitent aujourd'hui votre résidence à Paris', he wrote to Soufflot in April, 'j'aurais choisi, pour la ré-édification de la cathédrale de Rennes, M. Potain, des talents et du honnêteté duquel je fais un cas singulier'. Potain's designs, based on those of Soufflot, were submitted to the Academy on July 26th, 1762.
247 A second, more economical, project was presented on March 7th, 1762. The plan that received the Royal assent on May 9th 1764 is now in the Archives Nationales; it shows that free-standing columns, standing on the foundations of the old Gothic church, were to have been used in the nave. But the nature of the vaulting is not indicated. Construction was started in 1763, only to be stopped by the events of the Revolution. The cathedral as it stands today was built between 1811 and 1844; but
248 it is tempting to think that its Ionic columns, continued around the apse, its horizontal entablatures and its tunnel vault reflect Potain's early designs and thus Soufflot's first project of 1754. Certainly



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this would provide a prototype for the three basilical churches that were designed in the early 1760's and would in some measure account for their almost simultaneous projection. Certainly, when the revised drawings for the cathedral of Rennes were submitted to
249 the Academy for approval in June 1765, they were accompanied by Potain's project for St. Louis, suggesting that the two churches had features in common. St. Louis has a basilical plan with an apse and free-standing columns supporting an entablature and a high-coffined ceiling. Externally, it has the Tuscan portico of Trouard's church. The foundation stone was laid in 1766; but work was not begun in earnest until 1787. The present structure dates from after the Revolution, when the work was taken up by Potain's son-in-law and chief disciple, Pierre Rousseau (1751 - 1810). The church was
250 completed in 1823 by Malpière and Moutier.

Potain entered the architectural field with Trouard and Chalgrin, but he was considerably older than these two men and inclined to admire Gabriel's architecture rather than Soufflot's. His 'Traité
251 des Ordres d'Architecture', the first part of which was published in 1767, was distinctly conservative in spirit - Le Roy, Soufflot, Le Carpentier and Boullée, reporting on the completed work in 1776, declared that it was already out-dated. Potain was not therefore a vital member of that group of men who could lay claim to architectural
252 leadership. Neither was Trouard. He worked at Orleans cathedral and elsewhere. He travelled to Italy once again in 1783 with his pupil



253 P.A. Paris (1748 - 1819) an architect of distinct Neo-classical taste, but of no special susceptibility, who was sent to Rome at the king's command in 1771 and returned to become a designer for the *Menus Plaisirs* and to serve the world of fashion well with designs for neat, attractive town and country houses. Trouard's chief distinction lies in his claim to have taught that great architect Claude Nicholas Ledoux. Chalgrin, however, was at once recognized as a leader of French architecture. And he enjoyed a very successful career as an architect. The Comte de St. Florentin and the Comte de Provence, with whom he was associated in the building of St. Philippe du Roule, became his patrons. For the former he built a house, in 1767, on the corner of the rue de St. Florentin and the Place de la Concorde. The main facade was naturally built strictly in accordance with Gabriel's designs for the Place de la Concorde, but in the rue de St. Florentin Chalgrin added a portico of his own and in the courtyard designed all the elevations. For the Comte de Provence, whose architect he became in 1775, he designed a garden, a small pavilion and a theatre at the Chateau de Brunoy. For the Comtesse de Provence he built between 1781 and 1782, a small, intricately planned and superbly decorated pavilion in the Avenue de Paris, Montreuil (Versailles) - where he was also responsible for a group of twelve picturesque cottages set alongside a lake. And for the Comtesse de Balbi, mistress to the Comte de Provence, he designed another, more reticent,

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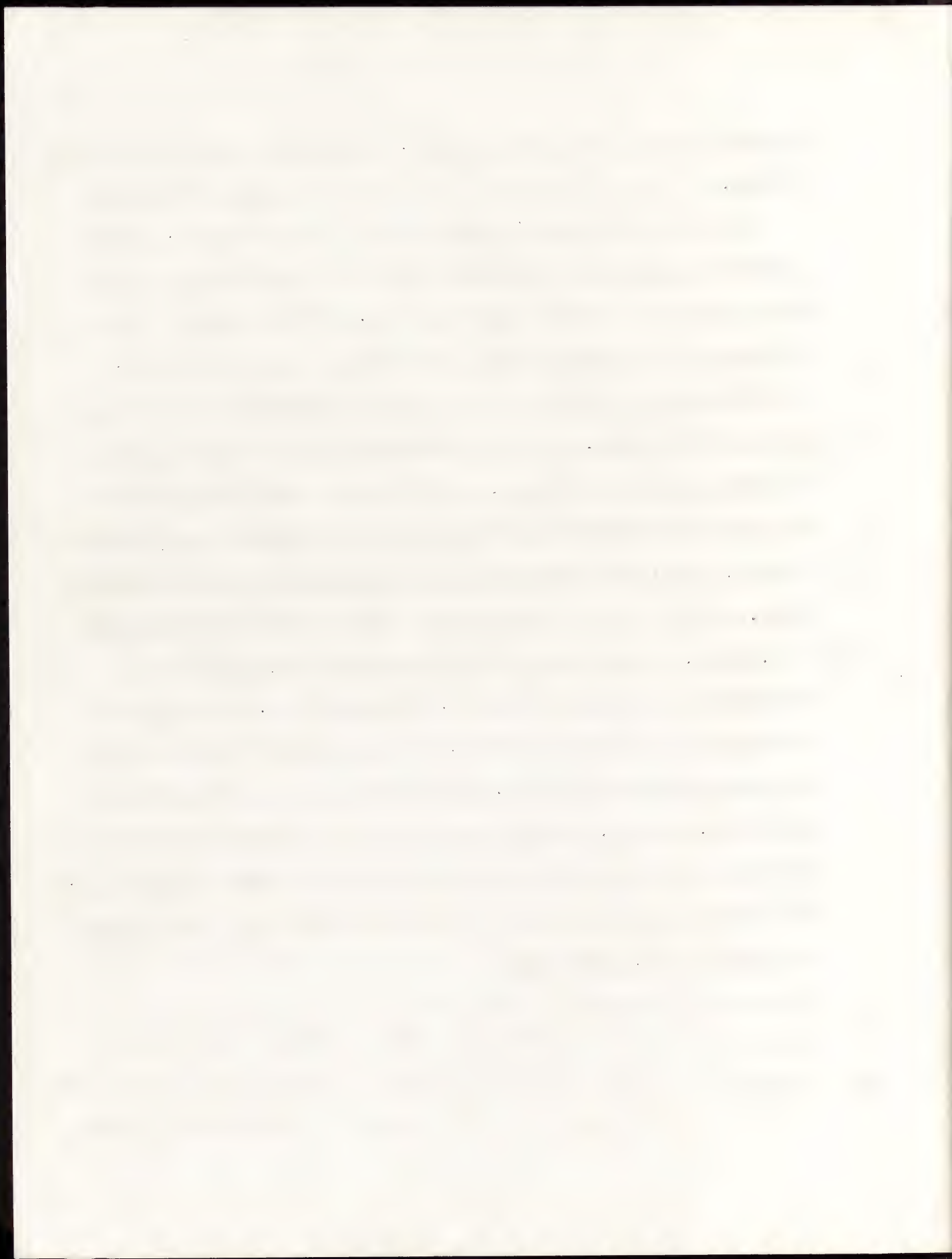


though no less costly pavilion nearby. It was, unfortunately destroyed in 1789.

The total of Chalgrin's domestic works is considerable. He was architect to the Comte d'Artois and the Comte de Lannois and for them built a number of town and country houses. He designed the ballroom for the wedding celebrations of the Dauphin and Marie Antoinette. And he became one of the most fashionable architects of the last years of the Ancien Régime. But he is remembered today rather for his churches and public buildings. In 1768 he designed the Chapelle de St. Bayrit, 30 rue Lhomond (Soufflot was responsible for the convent itself), a small box-like room with a semi-circular apse and a curved vault. The facade was decorated with only one bas-relief panel, by

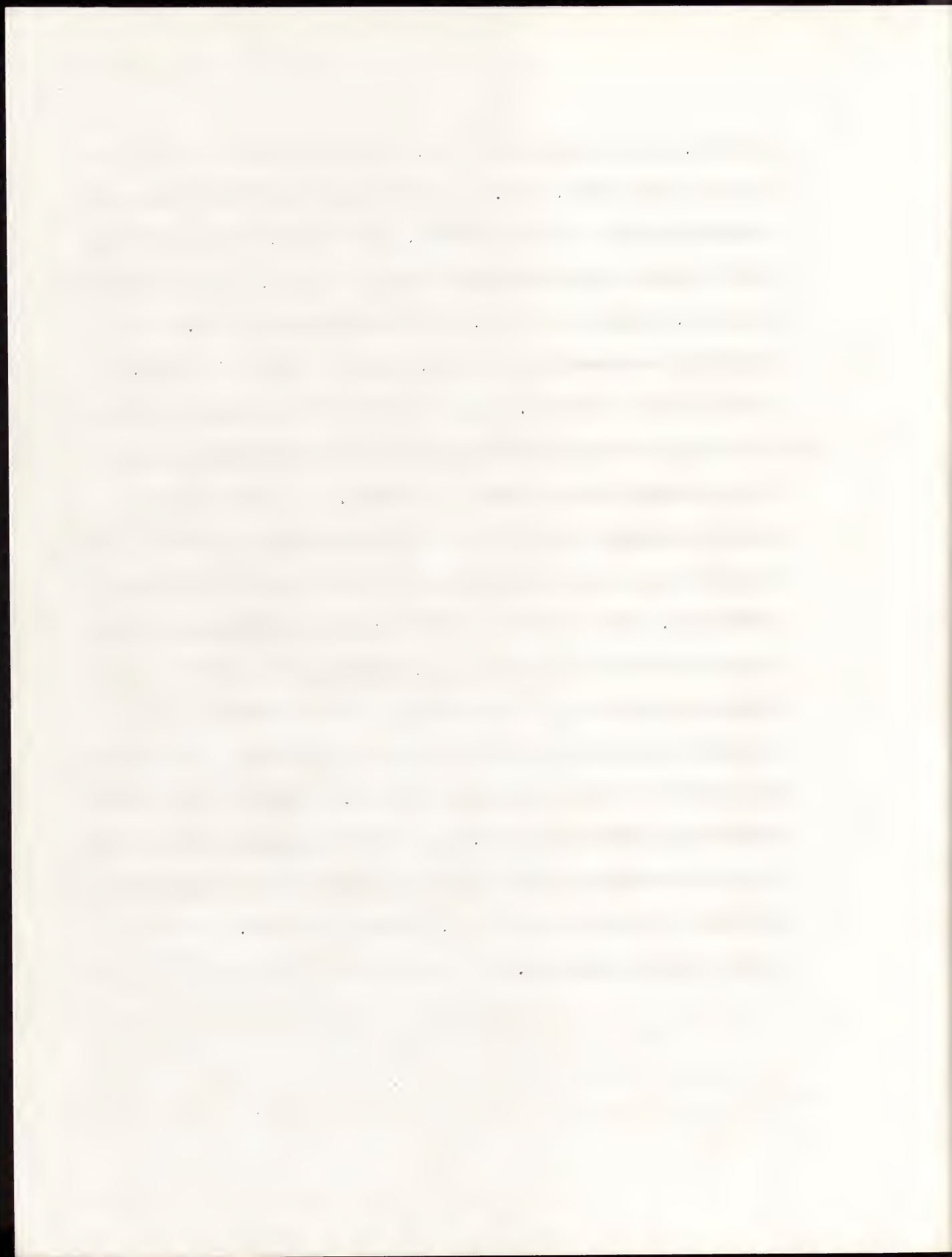
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255 F. J. Duret. Seven years later Chalgrin did a project for the reconstruction of the church of St. Sauveur, rue St. Denis; a design, according to Quatresbre de Quincy, which was advanced for its date and consequently much studied. In the same year Chalgrin started work at St. Sulpice, where he built the organ loft (1776) and as we have seen, drastically altered the outline of the main portico (1777). But his chief work at this period was the Collège de France, which he enlarged in 1780, conferring a quiet, distinguished and thoroughly Neo-classical character on the building. It is an almost perfect work of its kind and a forerunner of the institutional and administrative buildings put up in France around 1800. His greatest work,

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however, was the Arc de Triomphe, the foundation stone of which was laid on August 18th, 1806. In his first compositions Chalgrin evidently aimed at Roman grandeur, for columns, statues and bas-relief panels were incorporated into the design. But his later projects, dated around 1810, show a more austere ideal. The building is extremely simple and, like all Chalgrin's works, faultless in proportion. He was active also through these years
257 at the Palais du Luxembourg which he transformed around the turn of the century for the use of the Senate. The building was already familiar to him - he had started alterations there earlier for the Comte de Provence and had been imprisoned there during the Revolution. But the Salle du Sénat and the great stair hall with which he replaced Ruben's gallery, together with the suite of reception rooms that he arranged there, while unquestionably dramatic in a Neo-classical sort of way - if not entirely original in conception - were too hastily planned. The rooms are uneasily related and crudely detailed. They show Chalgrin repeating to no real and absorbing effect the linear patterns, the columnar episodes and even the tunnel vault of St. Philippe du Roule. That church remained his masterpiece.

It is scarcely necessary to trace in detail the history of the Neo-classical movement in France. Even this bare and unadorned account of Chalgrin's work gives some hint of the dramatic changes



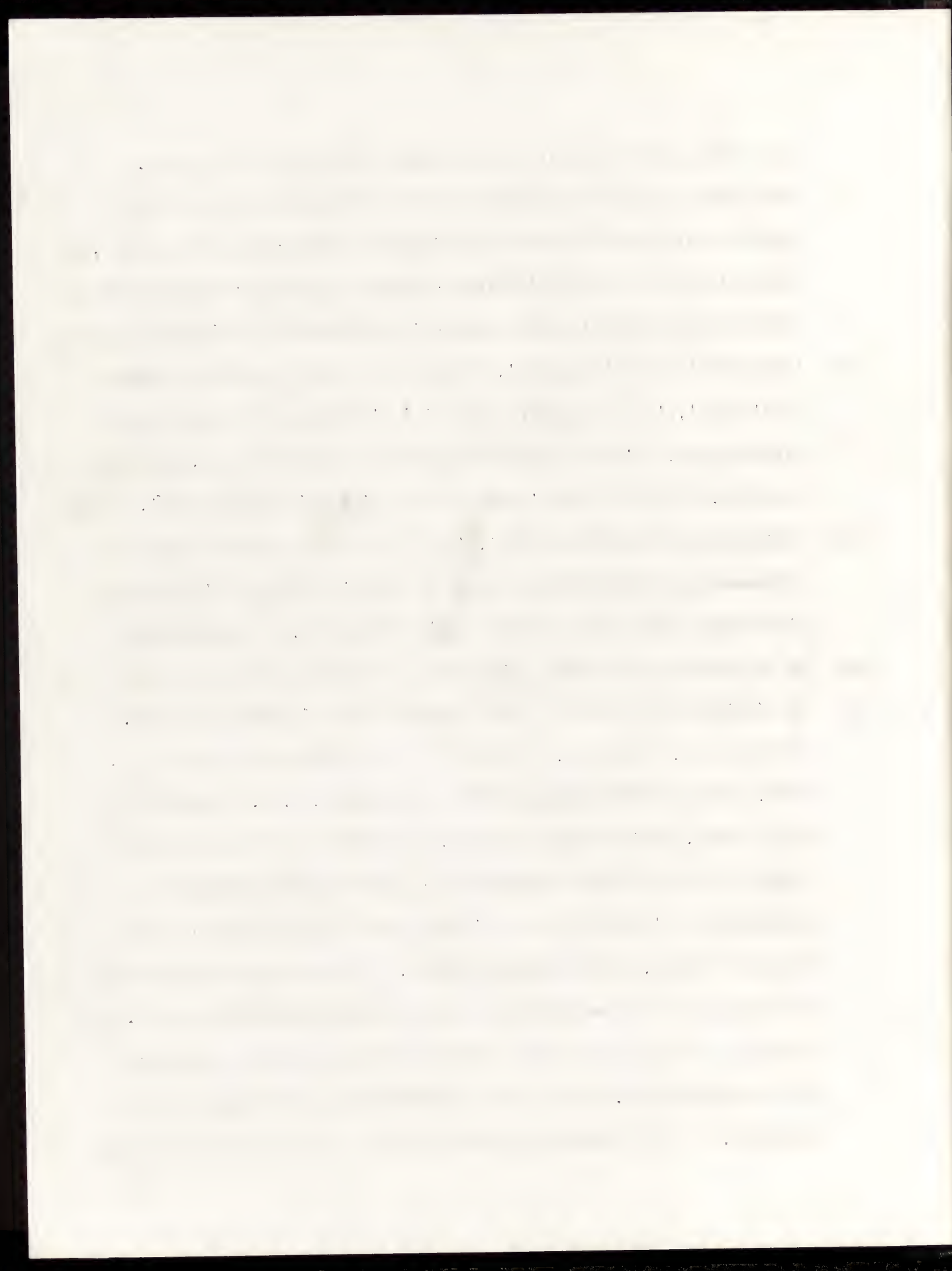
that took place in architecture in the late eighteenth century. By 1765 a new generation of architects had emerged to take control and impose their ideas; a generation inspired by Blondel and Soufflot, but aiming at something different - something more severely classical - something more starkly monumental - 'la plupart de nos élèves se

258 trompent ils tous les jours', Blondel wrote in the fourth volume of his 'Cours', 'il leur paraît plus aisé d'arriver aux compositions gigantesques, qu'aux proportions de la belle architecture,' and more bitterly, he said in the 'Homme du Monde éclairé par les Arts',

259 published posthumously in 1774, 'nos jeunes architectes sont raisonneurs et ne raisonnent pas - parce qu'ils ont lu l'essai du Père Logier (sic) ils se croient très instruits'. Yet he was able

260 to appreciate the simple daring and straightforward logic of Leccamus
52 261 de Mézière's (1721 - 1789) circular Halle au Blé (1763 and 1769).

This was not, of course, a strictly Neo-classical work; but when, in 1782, those two stirring and active architects, J. C. Legrand (1743 - 1807) and J. Molinos (1743 - 1851), covered the central court with a dome of a light timber construction - similar to that proposed by Philibert de l'Orme for the nun's dormitory at Montmartre - the building became, or appeared to become, the most complete expression in France of the Neo-classical liking for bold geometrical forms. And it was not surprisingly admired by almost all the architects of the new generation. It is with some of these architects that we must now deal.



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The most advanced of the young architects was not, as one
262 might have been led to believe, Chalgrin, but Marie Joseph Peyre
(1750 - 1785). Peyre was an innovator of great power. His influence
flashed suddenly into the international architectural sphere with the
publication, in 1766, of the 'Livre d'Architecture', and it penetrated
far beyond that of most other French architects, and lasted longer.
He was the pupil of Blondel, Jossensay and Lorient. In 1751 he won
263 the Grand Prix with a design for a public fountain; a grand affair
with projecting side pavilions with Doric columns in antis supporting
simple entablatures and pediments. The skyline is enlivened with
statues and a dome, topped with a feature that looks something like
an antique sarcophagus. The detail throughout is selected with
fastidious discrimination. Michaelangelo is hinted at and Salvi's
Fontana di Trevi recalled in the niches and the tritons and rocks.
But all this detail does not make it more telling as a design; it
makes it very characteristically a product of Blondel's school.

Peyre reached Rome in the summer of 1753. There he found at
least three of his fellow pupils - William Chambers, Charles de
Wailly and Moreau-Desproux. Together with Charles de Wailly and
Moreau he explored the monuments of Rome and measured up the Thermæ.
And he soon put these studies to use. Not long after his arrival he
entered a competition at the Academy of Saint Luke for a cathedral
and two related palaces - one for an archbishop, the other for the
canons - and though the predominant motifs of his design are derived



from the Baroque buildings of Rome her antique monuments have clearly claimed his attention. His cathedral, a Greek cross sur-
264 mounted by a Michaelangelesque dome and four subsidiary cupolas is encircled by a colonnade of giant doric columns, with four projecting porticos closely modelled on that of the Parthenon. The whole is set in a circular space circumscribed by an even larger colonnade adapted from Bernini's Piazza S. Pietro. The two palaces, relatively simple buildings planned around square courts, with corner pavilions and central porticos, are placed laterally, one on either side of the circle thus formed. The scheme is vast. But it is scarcely less grand than the design for an Academic centre that Peyre completed
265 a few months later. The main building is this time square in plan, though diminished in area by the inclusion of two grand semi-circular courts. It is a thoroughly Neo-classical conception, in the sense that it contains a variety of rooms and halls of geometrical shape, cleverly counterpointing each other and each originating in a classical prototype (derived most often from Hadrian's Villa, near Tivoli). The main building, here again encompassed by columns, is placed in a square court delimited by a range of buildings screened by more free-standing columns. This court is flanked by two 'cirques d'exercice', modelled naturally on Roman circuses, but terminating in hemicycles of Doric columns.

The giant formality of these designs profoundly affected the future of architecture when they were published, together with a



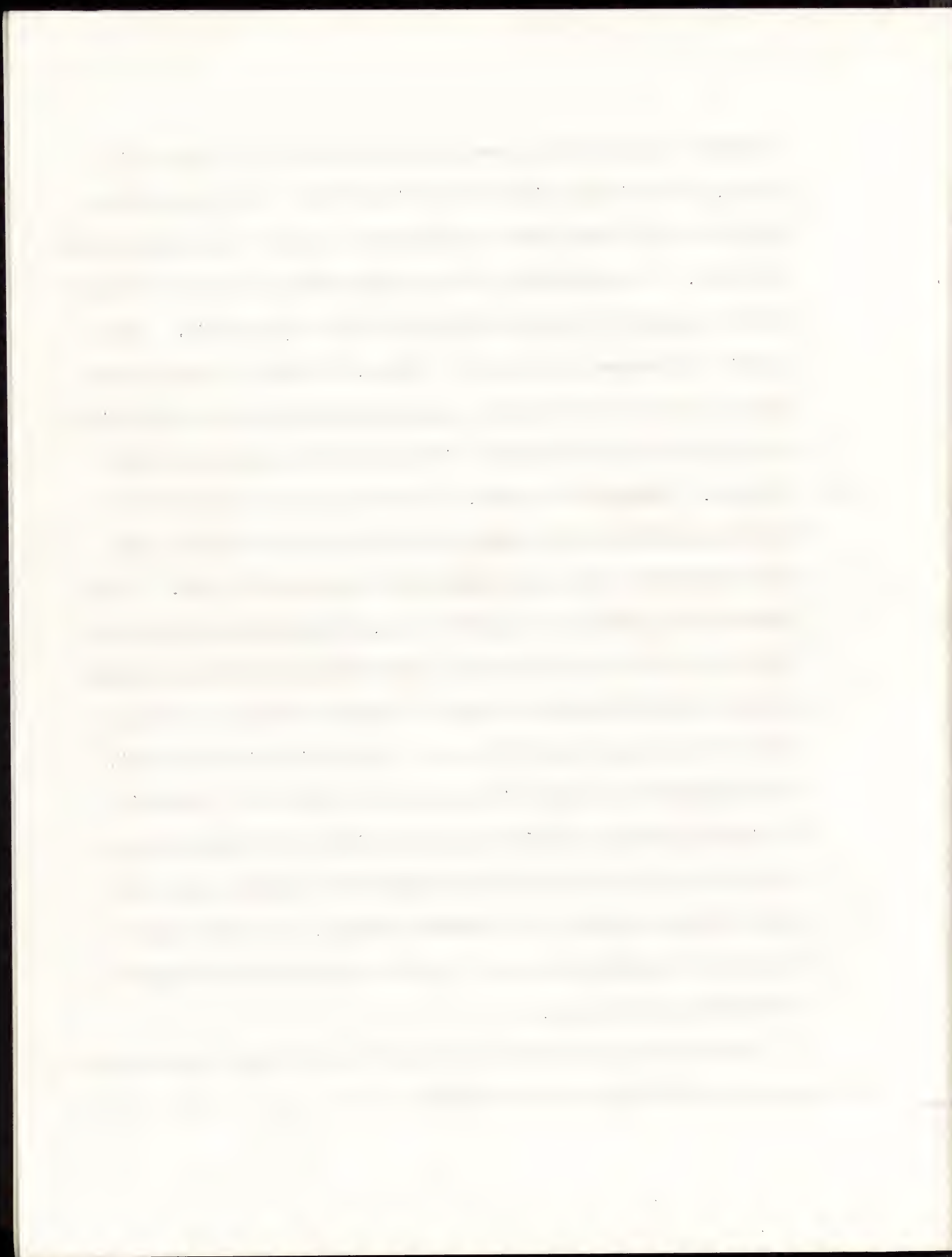
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a similar though slightly more complex project for a sovereign's palace, in the 'Livre d'Architecture' in 1765; though they had no doubt exercised their potent influence on a host of architects before that date. Certainly their sheer magnificence of scale was evident in the drawings of Grand Prix winners of the early 1760's. And Peyre's insistence on the use of columns, so that all architecture appears a sequence of columnar episodes (calling to mind Fézier's horrified comment on Corbigny - 'il ne voudrait partout que des colonnes, isolées et dégagées.') can be traced in the works of Chalgrin and Robert Adam, long before it served to transform the late eighteenth century architecture of France and England. While Peyre's strong liking for spatial drama, intensified and made more theatrical with top-lighting, was emphasized in the first important undertakings of such men as Jacques Gondoin in France and George Dance II in England before the end of the 1760's - 'Les Romains', Peyre wrote in his 'Livre d'Architecture', 'étaient si persuadés de l'effet et de la beauté des grandes pièces éclairées par les voûtes que non seulement ils les pratiquaient dans les palais de leurs empereurs et dans les monuments publics, mais aussi dans les maisons des particuliers et on y voyait toujours quelques salles principales de ce genre'.

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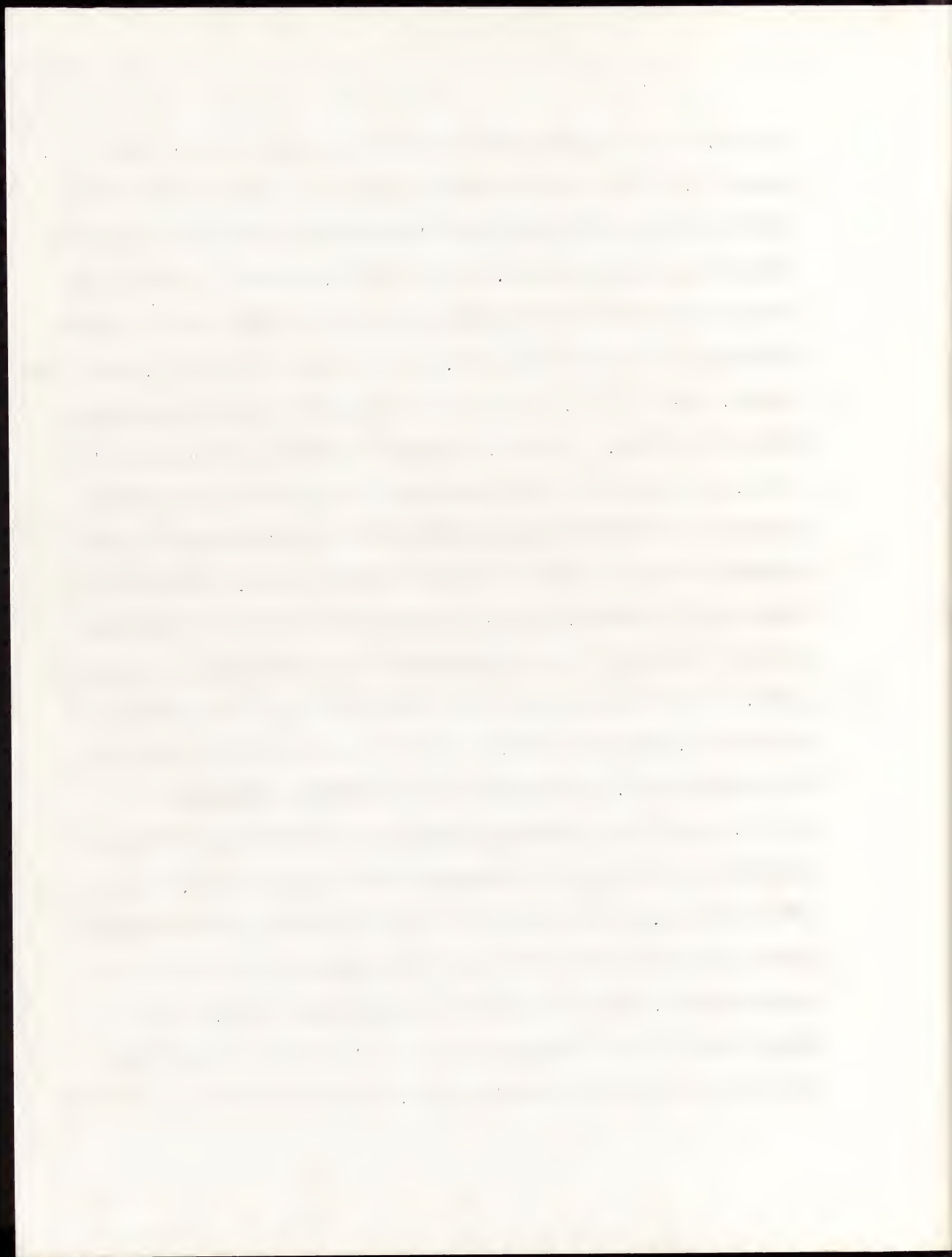
Returned to Paris, Peyre was called upon to build the small but very remarkable house in the Boulevard du Clos-Payen for the Baron de

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Neubourg. It was built in 1762, the year in which Gabriel's equally remarkable, but more elegant and less reserved, Petit Trianon was started and four years after Stuart's Doric temple at Hagley Park in Worcestershire was completed. Unlike Stuart, however, Peyre was not concerned to imitate antique architecture but to distill its effects and infuse them into his own work. The hôtel de Neubourg is, in essence, Neo-classical. It is perhaps the first strictly Neo-classical building in France. It rests, like many of Jules Hardouin-Mansart's houses, on a stylobate and consists broadly of two pedimented blocks joined by a third rectangular mass to which a portico of six Doric columns carrying a horizontal entablature is appended. The composition is compact, with unadorned surfaces and small, well-spaced windows and displays a true Neo-classical reluctance to emphasize the centre. The principal entrance itself is placed not on the main axis of the house, but at the side. And the planning reflects this fondness for under-emphasis. The entrance and stair-hall, decorated with columns, leads to the dining-room, which opens in turn on to the salon and thence, to the principal bed-chamber and dressing-rooms. There are no passages. Gone is the marvellous complexity and refinement of arrangement that Blondel had lauded as the great French contribution to architecture. Here is a baldly empirical arrangement, almost antique in character, suggesting that Peyre's innovations were applicable even on the humblest of domestic scales.



I 42

Peyre's next design was less severe. In April 1763 he drew a house for the Prince de Condé, intended for a site delimited today by the rue de Condé, the rue Monsieur-le-Prince and the rue Vaugirard. The exaggerated air of his Roman projects is at once apparent in the perspective sketch (illustrated in the 'Livre d'Architecture') though the plan has none of their novelty and is indeed not unlike that of the châteaux that Blondel drew for his pupils. But the central feature of Peyre's design, a domed and colonnaded circular hall preceded by a portico, is inspired by the Pantheon. The most striking feature, however, is a columnar screen, with a triumphal arch, enclosing the entrance court. A theme which can be traced to a suggestion made by Cordemoy, which was introduced into England by Robert Adam (at the Admiralty, Whitehall) in 1759, soon after his return from Italy, and which Gabriel proposed in 1764 for Compiègne. The most perfect example of its application is, however, the screen of the Hôtel de Salm (1762 - 1765), Pierre Rousseau's derivative masterpiece.

From the first Peyre was conscious of himself as a potential innovator. His purpose, he declared in the 'Livre d'Architecture' - 'rassembler les principes des Grecs et des Romains, qui serviront à combattre en France l'architecture dite Française'. Yet after the publication of that book he appears to have done little work of importance. In 1767 he was admitted to the Academy and submitted through life a number of schemes for reconstructions and new buildings



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(at least two of his houses survive today, the Hôtel de Nivernais, 10 rue de Tournon and the adjoining, 11 rue Garancière). But his only significant work was the Théâtre Français (Odéon) designed in
272 collaboration with his friend, Charles de Wailly (1730 - 1798). A pupil of Blondel, Legeay and Servandoni, de Wailly won the Grand Prix in 1752, at the age of twenty-two, with a design for a vast palace with a central rotunda and curved wings, screened, as one might expect, by free-standing columns. He generously offered to share his prize with Moreau-Desproux (1727 - 93) and together they travelled to Rome where, as we have seen, they found Peyre. Moreau was a man of no great talent; he became 'Architecte de la Ville de Paris in later years and built between 1763 and 1770 the theatre of the Palais Royal. But de Wailly was a challenging man. On his return from Rome he opened a school in Paris where he taught a number of young architects - among them the Russians, Bajenov, Starov, and Volkhov. In 1767 he was literally forced into the Academy by Marigny, who greatly admired his work. De Wailly's work is, however, at times baffling. Many of his interiors, for instance the salon of the Palazzo Serra at Genoa (1772), the Chapelle de la Vierge in Saint Sulpice (1774) and even the rooms of the old Hôtel d'Argenson (re-decorated in 1784) are overabundant and highly-coloured. Yet his exteriors, if not always as advanced as those of his contemporaries, are distinctly Neo-



I 43

classical in appearance. The five houses (two were built 1776, 1778, a third was begun 1779) that he planned for the rue de la Pépinière in Paris, consist of simple blocks, some of them surmounted by small pediments, others by rounded gables; they were evidently intended to form a unified architectural panorama of lively interest. And the handling of the forms is wonderfully resourceful. But a theme of recession in the composition weakens the total effect.

I 44, 45

The boldest of his country houses, the château de Montmuisard, near Dijon, is more lucid in its geometry. It consists of a cylinder, linked to two, almost cubic, blocks. The composition, however, is almost too straightforward. The planning is indifferent. The 'raison d'être' of the arrangement is a domed circular 'salon d'été' at first floor level, surrounded by two rows of columns, with the staircase rising between them. The spatial effect is highly dramatic and idiosyncratic - though it is just possible that the arrangement relates to that of the stair-hall of Wardour Castle, built between 1770 and 1776 by James Paine and illustrated in 1783 in 'Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses'.

In 1767 de Wailly was called upon to design his greatest work, the Odéon; and in the following years travelled to England, Germany, and Italy in order to study theatre designs. The building that was finally put up, between 1778 and 1782, was, however, done in

273 association with Peyre. The accepted sketch-design shows a large



rectangular block, relatively strongly rusticated, with arcades on the ground floor, rectangular windows on the first and circular openings in the attic storey. The whole is surmounted by a high pyramided roof. In front of the building is a Doric portico on which are placed two lodges and, further back, a pavilion with sculptural decorations, niches and a Venetian window; together they form a trinity of subsidiary features in a different key from the rest. The handling of the various elements, especially the elliptical arches that serve to link the theatre to the adjoining houses, seems to derive from Piranesi's 'Parere su l'architettura'. Certainly there is a connexion of mood. But the building that was finally erected was made more severe in form and more sober yet when, after a fire in 1799, it was rebuilt by Chalgrin.

Chalgrin and Peyre are the first true representatives of French Neo-classicism; but no less important are Boullée, Antoine, Ledoux, Gondoin, Brongniart and Bélanger - all of whom made their debuts in the 1760's - important that is by measure of their activities and the extent of their opportunities. For not all were innovators. Alexandre Théodore Brongniart (1739 - 1813) and François Joseph Bélanger (1744 - 1818) the youngest members of the group under discussion were, indeed, fashionable exponents rather than precursors of the new style. Heirs to Gabriel, excellent planners and designers of taste, they managed to capture much of the grace and elegance of



his best mid-century work and to infuse it into the new, more sober, if more pompous, Parisian manner. They enjoyed an enormous celebrity and built during the last years of the eighteenth century a number of large and costly 'hotels particuliers'.

Bélangier, taught by David Le Roy and Contant d'Ivry, began his architectural career in 1767, when, at the age of twenty-three, he was appointed 'Dessinateur aux Menus Plaisirs'. It is just possible that he spent the previous year in England, working for John, Earl of Shelburne; but it was at the Menus that he came into contact with the great singer, Sophie Arnould and consequently with her circle of distinguished admirers for whom, and for hardly anyone else, he designed during the next twenty years, earning the title of 'faiseur à la mode'.

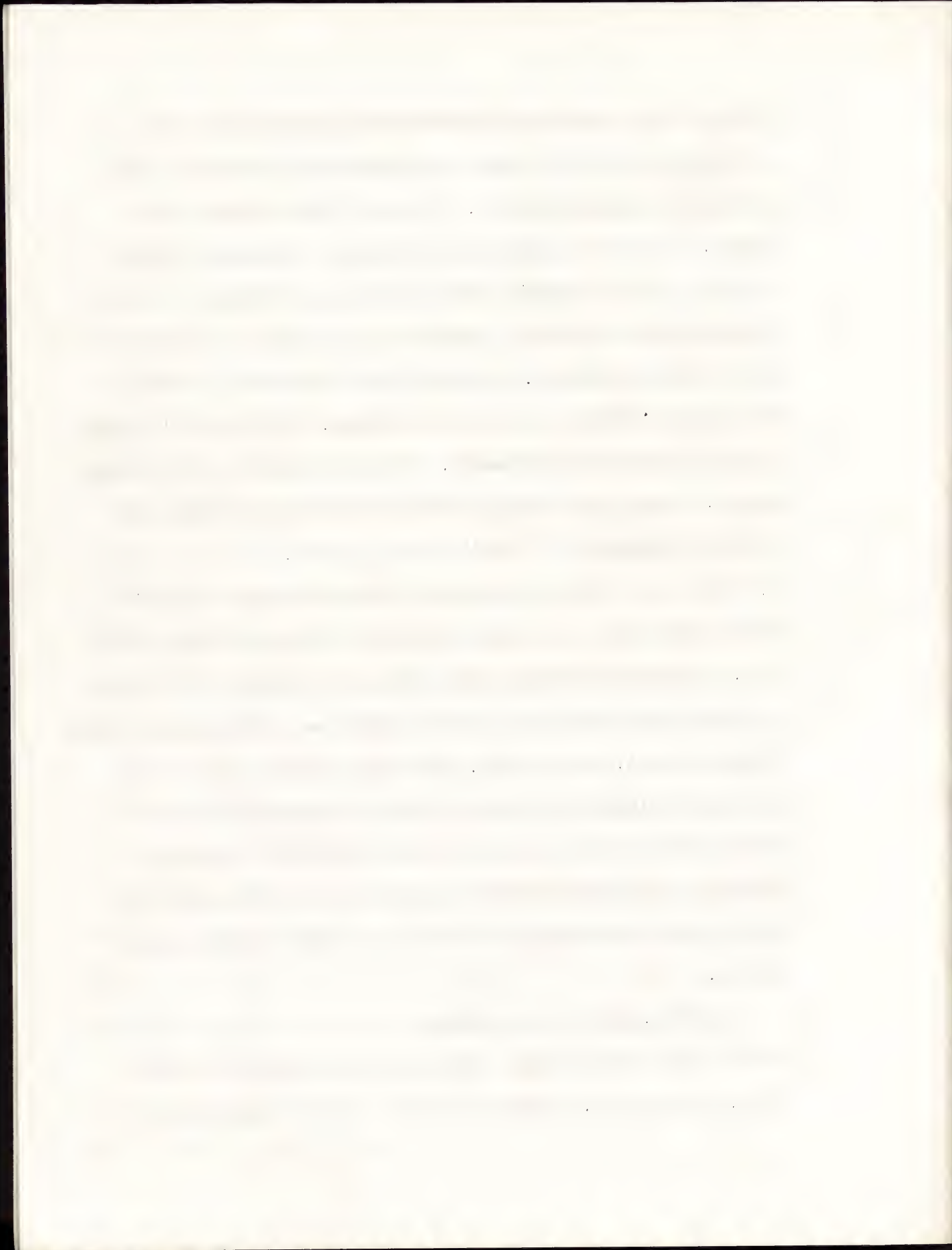
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Brongniart's work, despite its beautiful elegance, is likewise of little outstanding merit. A pupil of Blondel and Boullée, he failed to win the Grand Prix and did not therefore travel to Italy. He began his career, his biographer Silvestre de Sacy has suggested, in 1765 when he built the small but curious Hôtel de Bérulle, 15 rue de Grenelle, and the theatre of Caen. Both buildings show a liking for the works of Soufflot and, naturally enough, Blondel. But the numerous houses that Brongniart built in the following years reflect rather the smooth and flattening influence of advanced Neoclassicism. They are restrained in outline and beautifully planned with rooms of varying shapes and sizes, usually based on some Antique precedent. The façades of these houses are, almost invariably,



composed with round-headed openings on the ground floor and rectangular bas-relief panels or windows above, each unit being separated by giant pilasters. The roof line is always horizontal. His first mature work, the Hôtel de Montessan (1769) in the rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, thus has affinities with the late buildings of Gabriel, though it is naturally more reserved and crisply geometrical. His next work of interest, a Pavillon de Plaisance (1773) in the rue de Provence, for the Duc d'Orléans, is more determinedly up-to-date. Rooms and courts of contrasting shapes, screens and columnar episodes are combined together in a manner reminiscent of Peyre's Roman projects. The house was certainly one of the most ambitious interpretations of Peyre's ideal architecture to be seen in Paris, or anywhere else, at that time. Bronquiart's later houses were more restrained in character. He pruned and modified his style to create an architecture at once formal and neat, yet charming. He designed only one house with any real feeling for the solid dignity of the architecture of Blondel and of Soufflot and his circle, the Hôtel de Monaco (1774, now the Polish Embassy) in the rue de Grenelle, where he derived his effect chiefly from the use of free-standing Tuscan columns.

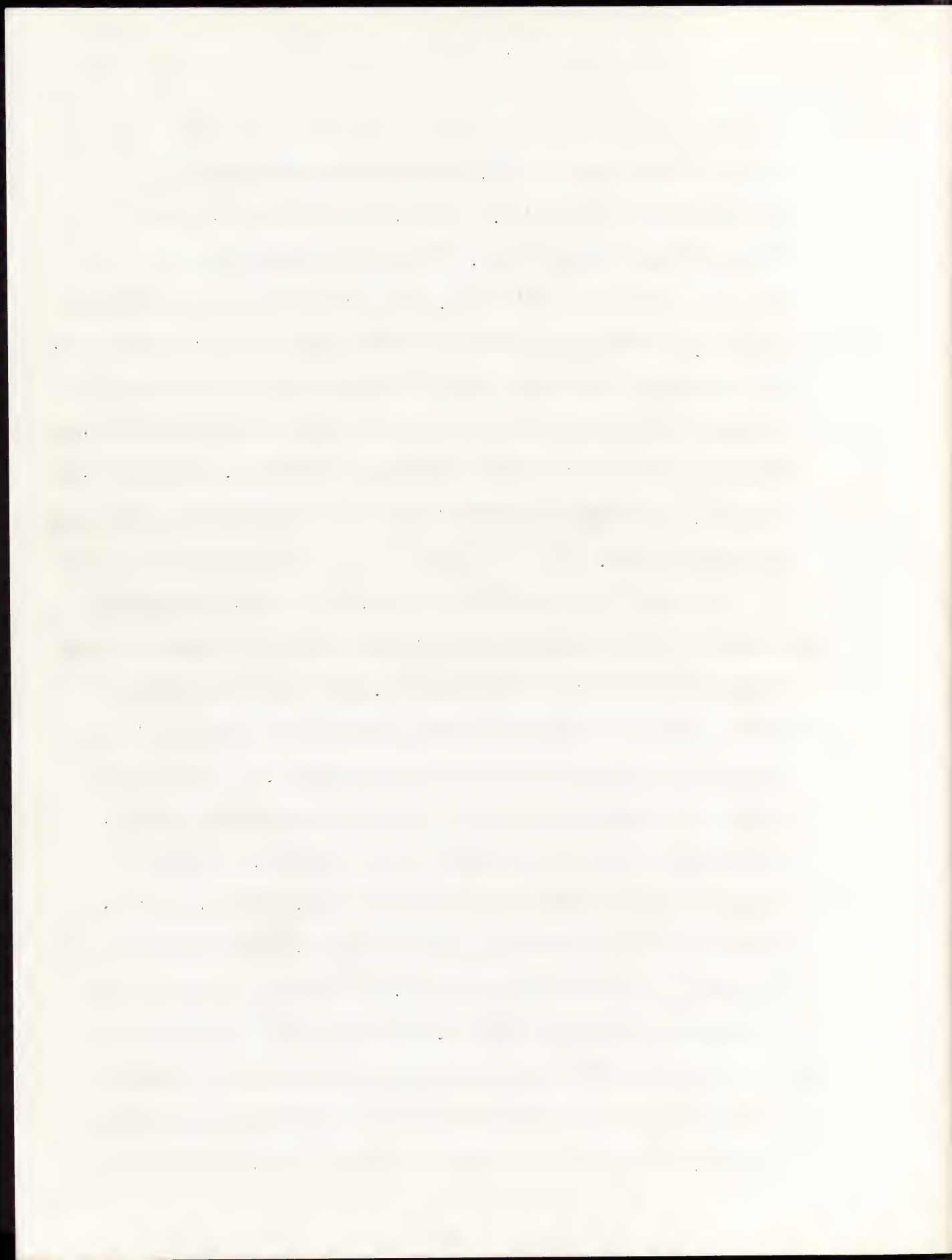
He built, before the Revolution, only two important buildings outside the domestic range; the church at Romainville (1785 - 1787), recalling St. Philippe du Roule, and the Convent des



I 46 Capucins de la Chaussée d'Antin (now the Lycée Condorcet) in the rue Caumartin (1780 - 1783), where he showed for the first time an original temper of mind. There, as we have seen, he used Tuscan columns without bases. The court is surrounded by them, the main portal flanked by them. And even the composition of the main facade is thoroughly Neo-classical in the most advanced manner. Two pedimented pavilions joined by a lower mass are sparsely punctuated with empty niches and two elongated bas relief panels, showing a characteristic fondness for underemphasis. The whole, however, is inclined to be precise rather than powerful in any monumental sense.

His great Post-Revolutionary work, the Bourse, designed in 276 1807 when he was sixty-one, was likewise not the creation of a man fitted for design in the grand manner. Yet it seems to embody I 47, 48 all the ideals of advanced Neo-classicism and even Cordemoy's ideal architecture finds its fullest expression there. The giant corinthian columns supporting a simple entablature and cornice, surrounding the solid rectangle of the structure, pierced only by regularly spaced arched openings and windows, did not, however, even before the building was altered in 1902, convey an impression of either magnitude or magnificence. It was lacking in the calm assurance requisite for success.

277 Jacques Denis Antoine (1733 - 1801) a closer contemporary of Peyre, was likewise without the powers of confidence necessary for success. The son of a joiner and cabinet-maker, he worked first



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for a building contractor and thus learned his knowledge of architecture. In 1768 he built the Hôtel de Fleury, 28 rue de Saints Pères (École des Ponts et Chaussées), a work that was technically advanced - having cast-iron beams for the main staircase, in imitation perhaps of those that Brébion employed at the Louvre in 1780, in accordance with Soufflot's instructions - but, otherwise, oddly uncertain. The design is clumsy. And the main façade, though heavy and free from unnecessary mouldings, awkwardly articulated. The great Hôtel des Monnaies, which he began in the same year, is designed with more assurance. The individual rooms, arranged around a series of enclosed courts, are fastidiously detailed and accentuated, here and there, with free-standing columns that are, on the whole, entirely appropriate. His triple arched vaulted entry with its coupled columns - derived either from Le Vau's Louvre or the Farnese palace - is from the point of view of architectural elaboration particularly adroit. Yet the façade on the Quai de Conti cannot be accounted a success. Over three hundred and fifty feet long, its pattern of close set-openings is broken only by the central pavilion, with its giant Ionic order on an arcuated and rusticated ground floor and above a heavy cornice with a high attic and statues in front. The effect is one of monotony rather than monumentality. It is clearly the work of a man unable to create a comprehensive whole. His many town and country houses, his small Chapelle des Feuillants (1776), his fore-court for the Palais de Justice which, together with Pierre



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I 12 Des aisons, he completed after the dismissal of Couture and Moreau, and even his stylistically advanced portico - with baseless Tuscan Doric columns - at the Convent de la Charité (built between 1778 and 1781) - all suggest that his genius was for the small unit. His work is marked by both the extreme thoughtfulness and the uncertainty characteristic of self-taught men.

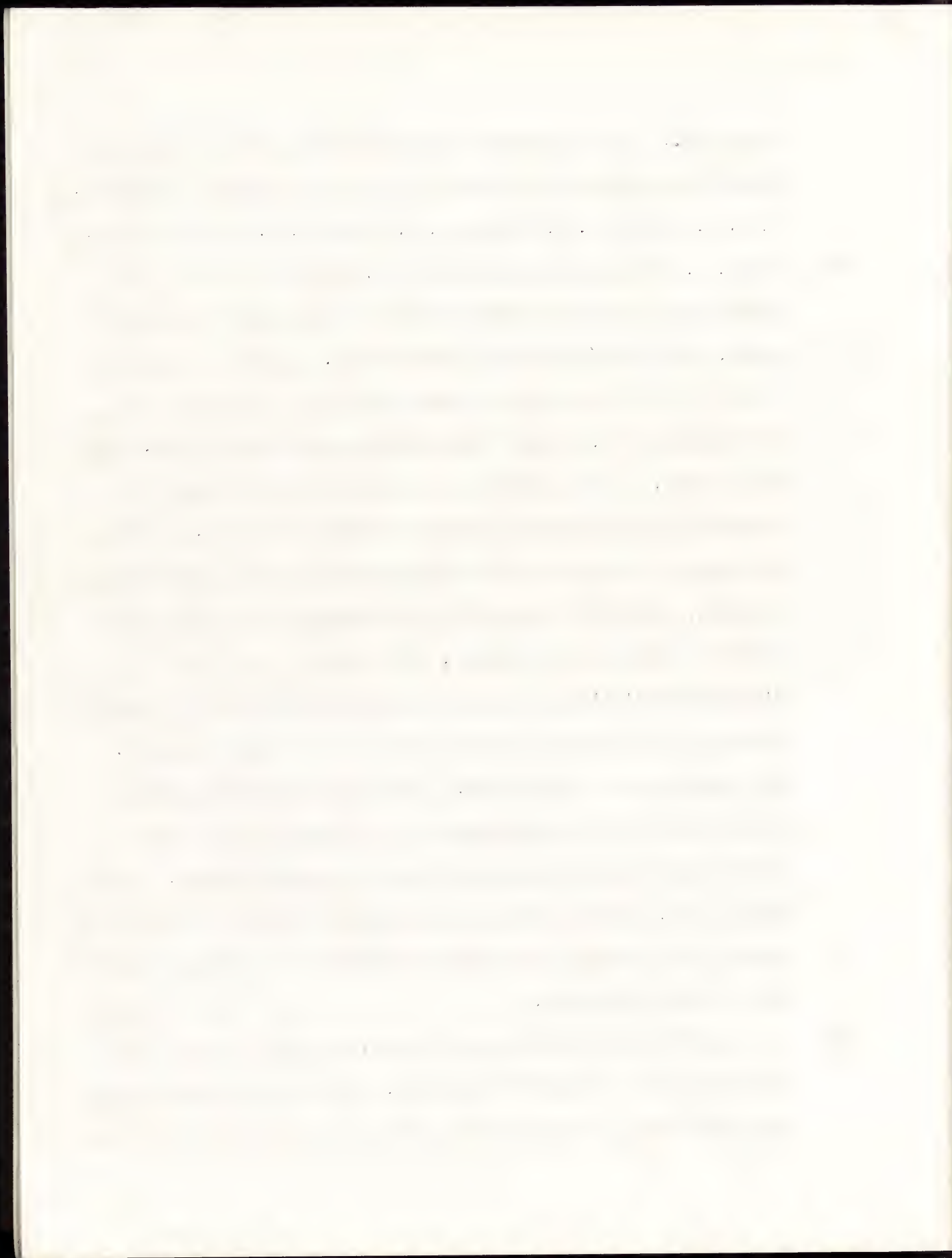
Boullée, Gondoin and Ledoux, on the other hand, were all innovators of influence and power. All three were pupils of Blondel, though Boullée studied first with the painter J.B. Pierre and later with Boffrand and Legeay; while Ledoux worked also for Trouard. Not one of them won the Grand Prix; Gondoin, however, the son of a skilful gardener at Choisy, was sent to Rome in 1781 at the instigation of the king, and there became and remained a close personal friend of Piranesi. Rome in the imaginations of Boullée and Ledoux remained the depressingly pretentious place of Piranesi's engraving. Though the exaggerated fantasies for which they are held today in almost superstitious esteem were not done, as one might expect, in their young and student days when Piranesi's influence was at its highest, but in the years that immediately preceded the Revolution and, in particular, in the idle years that followed. Their early works were, in comparison, almost restrained.

280 E. L. Boullée (1728 - 1799), by far the oldest member of the group, is known to have built little of importance. He made his reputation and demonstrated his ability as a teacher. Starting at the early age of eighteen, he taught at the Ecole des Ponts et



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281 Chaussées. Later he opened an architectural studio of his own from which emerged such distinguished men as Chalgrin, Brongniart, J. N. L. Durand, J. P. Gisors, A. M. Peyre, M. J. Peyre's nephew, and N. C. Girardin, the designer of St. Nicolas du Roule (1781 - 1784) one of the most superb examples of the French Neo-classical style. But Boullée was not a theoretician. In 1753 he prepared a number of sketch designs - greatly admired by Soufflot - for the chapels of St. Roche; they were not, however, executed. Nine years later, on his election to the Academy, he presented two projects for the Hôtel des Monnaies - built eventually, as we have seen, by Antoine - and in 1764, once again with Soufflot's approval, submitted drawings for the reconstruction of the Palais Bourbon - 'une machine immense', wrote Peyre in his 'Livre d'Architecture', 'dans laquelle il y a bien peu de chose convenable; cependant son projet ne lui peut faire que beaucoup d'honneur'. The design was not carried out. But in 1766, Boullée erected a fountain near Saint Eustache and in the following years was commissioned to build a number of town and country houses. They have passed, for the most part, unremembered, but two, designed around 1770, attained to a certain celebrity - the Hôtel de Monville and the Hôtel de Brunoy.

282 The Hôtel de Monville, rue d'Anjou, was destroyed with the building of the Boulevard Malesherbes. But an eighteenth century engraving shows the forecourt to have been a composition of unusual



rectangularity. The façade of the corps de logis is articulated with giant Ionic pilasters; each bay thus formed is punctuated with a rectangular doorway with a bas-relief panel above. The whole is topped with a heavy cornice and a balustrade. The arrangement is not unlike that of Brongniart's exactly contemporary Hôtel de Montessan; but, like that building, though clear and consistent in design, it is lacking in vigour. The Hôtel de Brunoy, 47 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, is more successful. The main building, standing free in a garden, consists of a low arcaded range with two pavilions projecting to form a U. Part of the central portion is raised in height, decorated with bas-relief panels, and screened with six Ionic columns carrying an entablature and, above, a curious stepped pyramid upon which is a statue of Flora. The masses are integrated with perfect fluency and restraint, and the peristylar arrangement and the stepped Pyramid, echoing Pliny's description of the tomb of Mausolus, provides the correct Neo-classical archaeological twist. Yet the Neo-classical streak appears but fitfully in Boullée's early works. Not until the 1790's, when he designed an Opera house for the Place du Carrousel and a vast, tunnel-vaulted Bibliothèque du Roi - intended to be built in the courtyard of the existing structure - did he disclose the immense, almost shocking strength of his Neo-classical tendencies - 'que ce fussent eux (les spectateurs) qui décorassent sa salle', he wrote of his great, circular Opera house, 'en

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formassent le principal ornement' - but the human form was by then incidental to his architecture, it served only to increase the apparent size of his buildings in his sketch designs. The stark and startling geometry, the barren, often monotonous vistas that characterize his later designs, are ends in themselves: human conditions have ceased to be relevant. And even his theoretical position had veered away from that of Soufflot and Laugier - architecture, Boullée declared in his 'Essai sur l'Art' - unpublished until the twentieth century - was not an expression of simple, easily definable functions - 'Il faut concevoir pour
286 effectuer', he wrote, 'nos premiers pères n'ont bâti leurs cabanes qu'après en avoir conçu l'image. C'est cette production de l'esprit,
287 c'est cette création qui constitue l'architecture; que nous pouvons en conséquence définir: l'art de produire et de porter à la perfection tout édifice quelconque. L'art de bâtir n'est donc qu'un art secondaire, qu'il nous paraît convenable de nommer la partie scientifique de l'architecture'.

Boullée's influence in Post-Revolutionary France was enormous; almost all the architects of the period derived something of their style from his sophisticated and superbly rendered designs; no one, however, endowed his work with Boullée's spectacular spirit as successfully as Ledoux.

288 Yet the early buildings of Claude Nicolas Ledoux (1736 - 1806) are not unconventional. A pupil of Blondel, an assistant to Trouard, he competed unsuccessfully for the Grand Prix and, like Boullée, did



not travel to Rome. In 1764 he designed the Hôtel d'Hallwy, 28 rue Michel-le-Comte, a building of Neo-classical inspiration, but one that on the strength of engravings in Ledoux's 'L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport des arts, des mœurs et de la législation', has generally been thought to be more advanced than it was. The heavy unbroken cornice, shown in his engraving of the street façade, gives an unusual coherency and tension to the architecture and reinforces the importance of the recessed central portion, but on the building as it stands today the cornice is more conventionally designed to follow the outline of the plan. The total effect is altogether different. The Hôtel d'Uzès, in the rue d'Uzès, started in 1767, is similarly lacking in vigour. The building is composed of cubic masses, but dramatic tension is lost with the use of close-set openings - some rectangular, some round-headed - and an uneasy pattern of overall rustication. The forecourt, however, with its portico of four giant Corinthian columns supporting an entablature and balustrade illustrates forcibly the boldness inherent in his powers of composition. The Château de Benouville (Calvados), begun in 1768, is once again similar in treatment. It consists of a number of rectangular masses broadly composed to create a rectangular outline. The whole is pierced with unusually narrowly proportioned windows and screened in part by a portico of giant Ionic columns. His engraved design of the building, dating from 1804, is as before considerably bolder in conception than the executed work, though in



this case the discrepancies may be due to provincial workmanship and to lack of personal supervision.

Between 1770 and 1772 he built the Hôtel de Montmorency on the corner of the rue Basse du Rempart and the Chaussée d'Antin, which suggests an unexpected derivation from Potain's project for a theatre; but his first mature work was the Pavillon de Louveciennes, designed in 1770 and built in the following year for Madame du Barry. It is a charming though simplified reinterpretation of the Petit Trianon theme. The attracting feature, however, is an entrance porch conceived as an exedra, screened by four Ionic columns, with a semi-dome rising up behind the entablature and the balustrade of the façade. The arrangement, inspired perhaps by designs in Neufforge's 'Recueil d'Architecture,' was more fully worked out in the same year in the house in the rue de la Chaussée d'Antin that he designed for the dancer, Mademoiselle Guinard. He scored a triumph. The open apse of the porch, screened by four Ionic columns carrying an entablature and above, a statue of Terpsichore, provides the ingenious and wholly successful focus of the design. The parallel between Robert Adam's basilical themes inside Syon House, Kenwood and Newby is, of course, irresistible, but the conception derives rather, it seems, from the measured studies of Roman baths carried out



at that time by French 'pensionnaires'. Yet certainly the many houses that Ledoux designed in the following years for a large circle of French nobles and financiers are not uninfluenced by English architecture and by English Palladian architecture in particular. It is just possible, moreover, that Ledoux travelled to England, for he is known to have started a house for Lord Clive.

Ledoux's great works are, however, essentially French. In 1771, he was appointed Inspecteur des Salines de la Franche Comte, and in the following years prepared and developed his famous project for the Salines d'Arc et Senans; both the remaining buildings of which and the more outlandish unexecuted designs show him to have been at once an admirer of the reserved and dignified architecture of Louis XIV's reign and an advanced Neo-classicist with a pronounced liking for heavy simplified masses and unadorned wall-surfaces. Indeed, the seventeenth century 'grand manner' was successfully infused into all his architecture. Even his 'Barrières de Paris', built between 1784 and 1789, seem supremely monumental in the traditional French manner, although the characteristic forms of Classical architecture are interpreted there with a waywardness and a wilful wrong-headedness peculiar to Ledoux. Many of these small buildings are indeed as original as anything by Legeay or Piranesi, though they are, of course, closely related to the works of those men. But one of the most original perhaps, of Ledoux's designs to be executed - or at least started - was the prison at Aix. The plans were approved - together



with those for a governor's house and a Palais de Justice - in 1785; work went but slowly ahead however and was stopped altogether in 1790. The plan is unremarkable - even for the period - but the composition with its heavy simplified masses suggests something new in French architecture; it is distinctly top-heavy. The roofs of the four corner pavilions are designed to dominate the whole and all the richness and incident in the architecture - the curious squat porticoes apart - is concentrated at the eaves. Yet there is nothing quite like this building in Ledoux's later oeuvre. The remarkable and altogether surprising projects that he prepared during the years that followed the Revolution and published in 1804, two years before his death, together with his equally idiosyncratic theories on architecture in 'L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'Art, des Mœurs et de la Legislation' - all exemplify his notion of architectural beauty as something large, simple and lumpish, enclosed and amplified by a clear-cut, if broken, outline. It was an ideal that many of his contemporaries shared and one that they derived most probably from Boullée; though, more strictly Neo-classical in spirit, he tended to prefer continuous masses and unbroken outlines. Ledoux was thus the forerunner of much that gave to nineteenth century architecture its turgidity.

289 Jacques Gondoin (1737 - 1818) was one year younger than Ledoux, he made his architectural debut more than five years later, yet he remained through life a strict and consistent Neo-classicist. Indeed, the one building for which he is remembered and for hardly



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290 any other, the Ecole de Chirurgie in the rue de l'Ecole de Médecine, might be said to epitomize international Neo-classicism - 'un seul mot fera l'éloge de ce monument', wrote Quatremère de Quincy, the historian and upholder of Neo-classical orthodoxy, 'Il est l'ouvrage le plus classique du dix-huitième siècle'.

Commissioned in 1769, three years after Gondoin had returned from Italy - via Holland and England - started in 1771, the building was finished by 1776. The plan is of no great interest. The problem of designing a surgical college in 1769, called for no great ingenuity and Gondoin completed his task adequately, no more. The semi-circular lecture hall, with its rising tiers of seats, its coffered half-dome and demi-oculus, however, is a creation of genius and it is not surprisingly reflected in the assembly halls of the
291 Consulate and Empire periods - the Chambre des Députés, built between 1795 and 1797 by J. P. Gisors and Leconte; the Salle du Sénat at the Palais du Luxembourg, designed in 1804 by Chalgrin; and the Salle du Tribunat installed a few years later in the Palais Royal by Beaumont (1757 - 1811). Yet it is rather Gondoin's conception of a façade composed of a continuous screen of Ionic columns, through which is glimpsed a court surrounded by similar columns - some engaged, some free-standing - and at the far end a giant Corinthian portico - in short the dramatic interpenetration of columnar screens, that makes the Ecole de Chirurgie so remarkable and so stunning a work. And its effect was not lost to contemporaries. Many attacked it. Blondel reluctantly recognized its peculiar Antique

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power and Peyre defended it with vigour; Legrand, writing in Landon's
292 Annales du Musée in 1803, wrote - 'Tout le système de la vieille
architecture française fut renversé par cet exemple inattendu, et
les partisans de la routine furent stupéfaits de voir une façade
sans pavillons, sans avant corps au milieu, sans arrière-corps,
et dont la corniche suivait d'un bout à l'autre, sans ressaut ni
profil, contre l'usage reçu en France, et dont les Contant, les
Gabriel, les Soufflot venaient de donner de si récents et si
dispendieux exemples dans l'Ecole militaire, dans la Madeleine, et
dans la nouvelle Sainte-Genève. Cependant l'opinion publique
se prononça en faveur du nouveau système, la critique se tut et
l'Ecole de Chirurgie fut proclamée par tous les gens de goût, le
chef d'oeuvre de notre architecture moderne'. The success of
this work won for Gondoin many commissions, and he is said to have
built a number of town and country houses, though only the château
that he built for himself in the late 1780's and in the years that
followed the Revolution, on the banks of the Seine, near Melun, can
be attributed to him with certainty. Yet he became wealthy. And
when in 1775, he travelled to Italy for the second time, he sought
to buy Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. This proved impossible and he
was forced to content himself with measuring it up - the drawings he
gave to Piranesi. During the nineteenth century, however, Gondoin,
293 with J. B. Lepère (1761 - 1844), a member of Napoleon's expedition
to Egypt in 1798, was responsible for one work of importance - the



The architects who succeeded these eighteenth century reformers were not impressive. They were not innovators. They were unfortunate, moreover, in that they reached maturity in the years that followed the Revolution - years during which building activity virtually ceased in France - and were forced thus to express themselves almost entirely on paper. Their designs became increasingly abstract, more and more determined by a delight in geometric pattern for its own sake than in the commonplace architectural values imposed by human and structural requirements. This was due, however, as much to an all-too-eager acceptance of the purely formal qualities of Neo-classical architecture as to any real lack of building experience. Yet the structural criteria evolved in the middle years of the century in the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées and upheld by Soufflot and his circle were not altogether forgotten; they were inherent to the Neo-classical ideal of a rational and economical architecture. And they emerged most forcibly in 1803, in J. B. Rondelet's 'Traité théorique et pratique de l'Art de Bâtir', a work which was to serve as a standard handbook for the next fifty years. The complement to this treatise was the more famous 'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique', published between 1802 and 1805, by J. N. L. Durand (1760 - 1734). There the standards of formal geometry and design were upheld, interpreted with some degree of plausibility, as the expressions of a rational art. Together these two books contain the legacy of the eighteenth



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century Neo-classical movement.

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Jean Baptiste Rondelet (1743 - 1829) was the true heir to Soufflot. He was born in Lyon, where he spent the first twenty years of his life and where he studied first with his father, a building contractor, and then with Loyer, a local architect. But it was rather in Blondel's studio and in Soufflot's office in Paris, in particular, that he attained to his full and confident understanding of architecture as an art of construction. He was for years inspector of the work at Saint Geneviève, and after Soufflot's death in 1780, completed that church, as we have seen, with an inestimable tact and technical skill. He built the church of
296 Irancy (1788) near Lyon, and that of Château Villain (Haute Marne),
297 both to Soufflot's designs. But apart from a Corps de Garde, with
298 a portico of baseless Tuscan or Doric columns, in the Place Maubert, he is known to have built nothing of his own. Yet, as all his contemporaries agreed, he excelled in a knowledge of building construction.

He was a friend of most of the members of the Corps des Ponts et Chaussées and with them carried out a number of experiments to determine the strengths and load bearing capacities of various materials. And he searched France to find the best quality materials. On more than one occasion, moreover, he travelled to Italy to study the building methods of the Ancients - and in 1783 and 1784 he went at the expense of the state and engaged at that time in a correspondence with the Suprintendant des Bâtiments, the Comte



d'Angivillers, that was to form the basis of his great treatise. After the Revolution he continued to enjoy official patronage. In
298 May 1793 he was made a member of the newly created Conseil Général
des Bâtiments Civils, a position he was to hold for the rest of his
300 life, and two years later was asked to form the Ecole centrale des
Travaux Publics, a school which soon merged with the Ecole Poly-
technique, founded in 1794. But it was rather at Leroy's - later
301 Dufourny's - 'Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture', the forerunner of
the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he taught the art of construction
from 1806 until his death in 1829, that he exercised his special
influence and wielded his power over the young. His fame, however,
was to spring from his book.

The 'Traité Théorique et Pratique de l'Art de Bâtir' is
probably unique among architectural treatises in that it contains no
general discussion on architecture - or almost no general discussion.
Apart from a few pages at the beginning of the first volume -
borrowed from a 'Mémoire sur l'Architecture considérée généralement',
written in 1789, and repeated almost word for word in his 'Discours
pour l'ouverture du Cours de Construction et de Stéréotomie',
published in 1806 - Rondelet gave no exposition of his architectural
beliefs. And unlike Briseux's or Belidor's works, his treatise was
clearly intended to provide a comprehensive foundation for the
practice of architecture. Architecture was in his estimation
302 indistinguishable from 'l'art de bâtir' - 'Les Grecs', he wrote,
accoutumés à raisonner sur toutes sortes d'objets, en firent une



science à laquelle ils donnèrent le nom d'architectónica, que nous avons traduit par celui d'architecture. Le véritable sens de ce mot indique une science dont l'objet est de diriger les opérations des arts pour l'exécution d'un édifice quelconque, a fin de réunir la convenance, la solidité et la beauté des formes: ainsi il n'en résulte pas que l'architecture soit seulement, comme l'ont pensé plusieurs auteurs, l'art de dessiner et de profiler les ordres grecs et romains, mais une science vaste, qui a pour objet la sûreté, la commodité et la magnificence des villes et des pays où elles sont situées'.

And though he agreed that architecture required both a practical and a theoretical basis, he defined the practice of building as the
303 economical choice of materials and their application to readily recognizable and entirely necessary ends, while the theory of architecture, far from involving a number of general principles and notions of proportion, consisted, in his opinion, in a knowledge of
304 physics and mathematics - 'la théorie', he wrote, 'est une science qui dirige toutes les opérations de la pratique. Cette science est le résultat de l'expérience et du raisonnement fondé sur les principes de mathématiques et de physique appliqués aux différentes opérations de l'art. C'est par le moyen de la théorie qu'un habile constructeur parvient à déterminer les formes et les justes dimensions qu'il faut donner à chaque partie d'un édifice en raison de sa situation et des efforts qu'elle peut avoir à soutenir, pour qu'il résulte perfection, solidité et économie.'



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Rondelet clearly inclined to be a narrow utilitarian. Architecture, he insisted, unlike poetry, painting, sculpture and music, was
305 not an imaginative art; it was a science, and a science in the practice
of which even the simplest of human delights was to be controlled and
dictated by need and necessity. The purpose of architecture was not
306 to please - 'le but essentiel de l'art de bâtir', he wrote, 'est de
construire des édifices solides, en y employant une juste quantité
de matériaux choisis et mis en oeuvre avec art et économie' - and his
treatise therefore was devoted to lengthy accounts of building
materials, their preparation or manufacture and their economical
application to building-construction. He provided tables of stresses
and strains and the load bearing capacities of various materials - in
their differing qualities - and discussed in minute detail the
formulae for determining the optimum sizes of structural elements.
As a theory of structures his work was without equal. All the
experiments, all the discoveries of eighteenth century architects and
engineers were assessed and generously acknowledged. But it was as a
manual of building construction that the work was most useful. The
laying of foundations, the building of walls and vaults, the con-
struction of floors and roof-trusses, the detailing of joinery and
the application of varnish and paint, all were described with unfailing
care and correctness. Even the various techniques for estimating
the cost of the work were outlined in detail. Altogether the 'Art
de Bâtir' represented a considerable advance on Pierre Patte's more

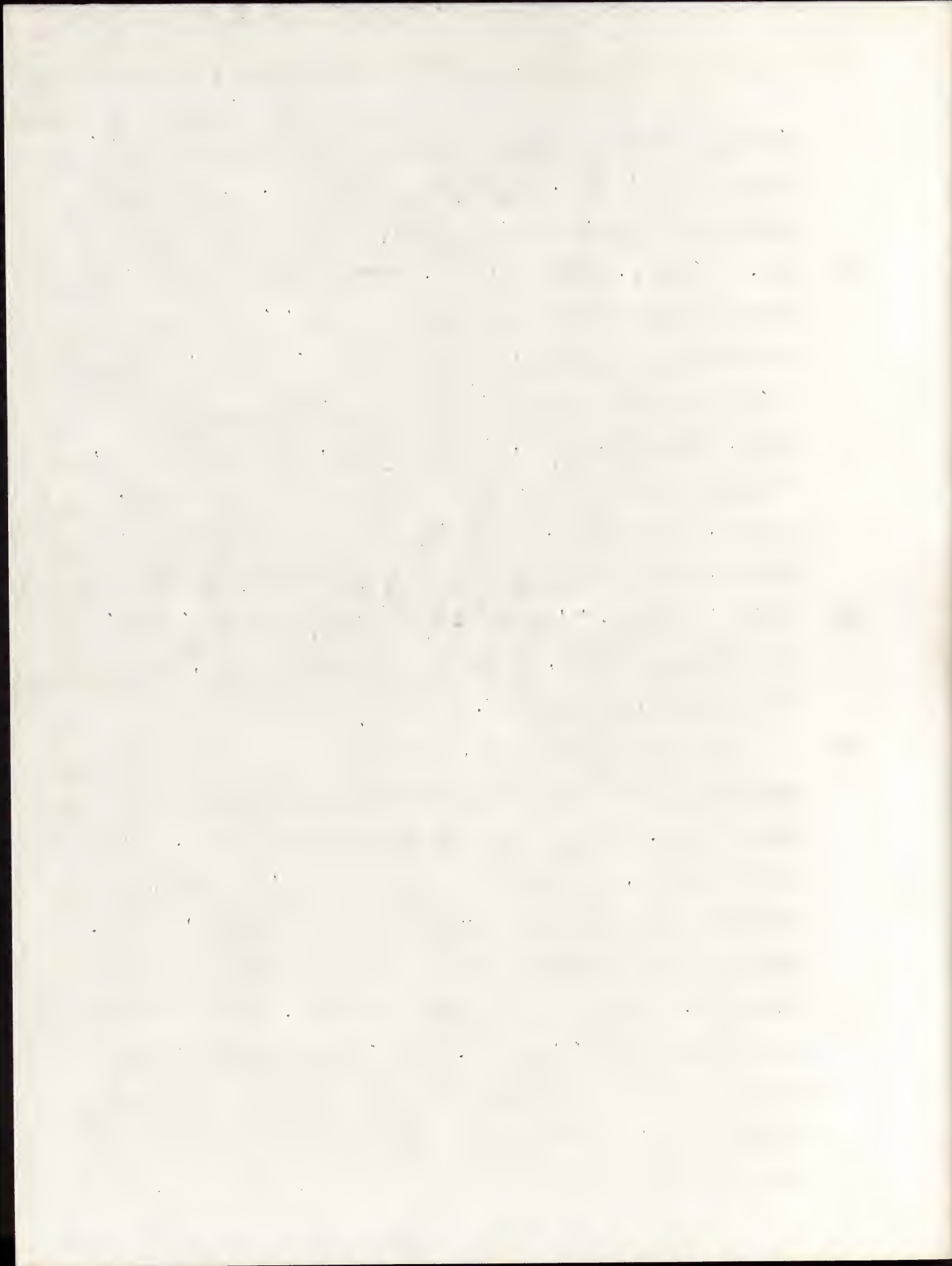


commonplace volumes for Blondel's 'Cours d'Architecture'. Yet today,
307 only one section is of any particular interest - that on iron.
Rondelet rejected the cautious advice of those architects who believed
that iron was too prone to rust to have any general application in
architecture; he regarded it as a new and challenging material with
specific advantages - a high compressive strength, permitting an
unusual lightness in construction. And he was well-informed regarding
its recent application. He illustrated the Coalbrookdale bridge, the
308 Sunderland bridge and another at Staines, all built in the late
eighteenth century; and was naturally aware of the less spectacular
French pioneering examples. Though he illustrated Brébion's iron
309 roof-trusses for the Salon Carré in the Louvre, designed during the
late 1770's, and Victor Louis's better known ones for the Théâtre
310 Française (Comédie Française) designed in 1786, but not erected before
1788, he made no mention of those that Victor Louis - according to
311 Charles Eck - incorporated earlier into his theatre at Bordeaux, built
between 1772 and 1780. Rondelet's knowledge of iron construction
was, however, anything but uncertain. He confidently criticized the
works that he illustrated and suggested several improvements in their
312 design - even the more advanced Pont des Arts, built by Cessart and
Dillon between 1800 and 1803, and the Pont d'Austerlitz, built in
313 1806 by Bequeze de Beaupré, did not escape his improving hand. He
314 proposed also a number of curious and not altogether successful
designs for iron roof-trusses. But his contribution to the development
of iron construction seems to have appeared most conspicuously in



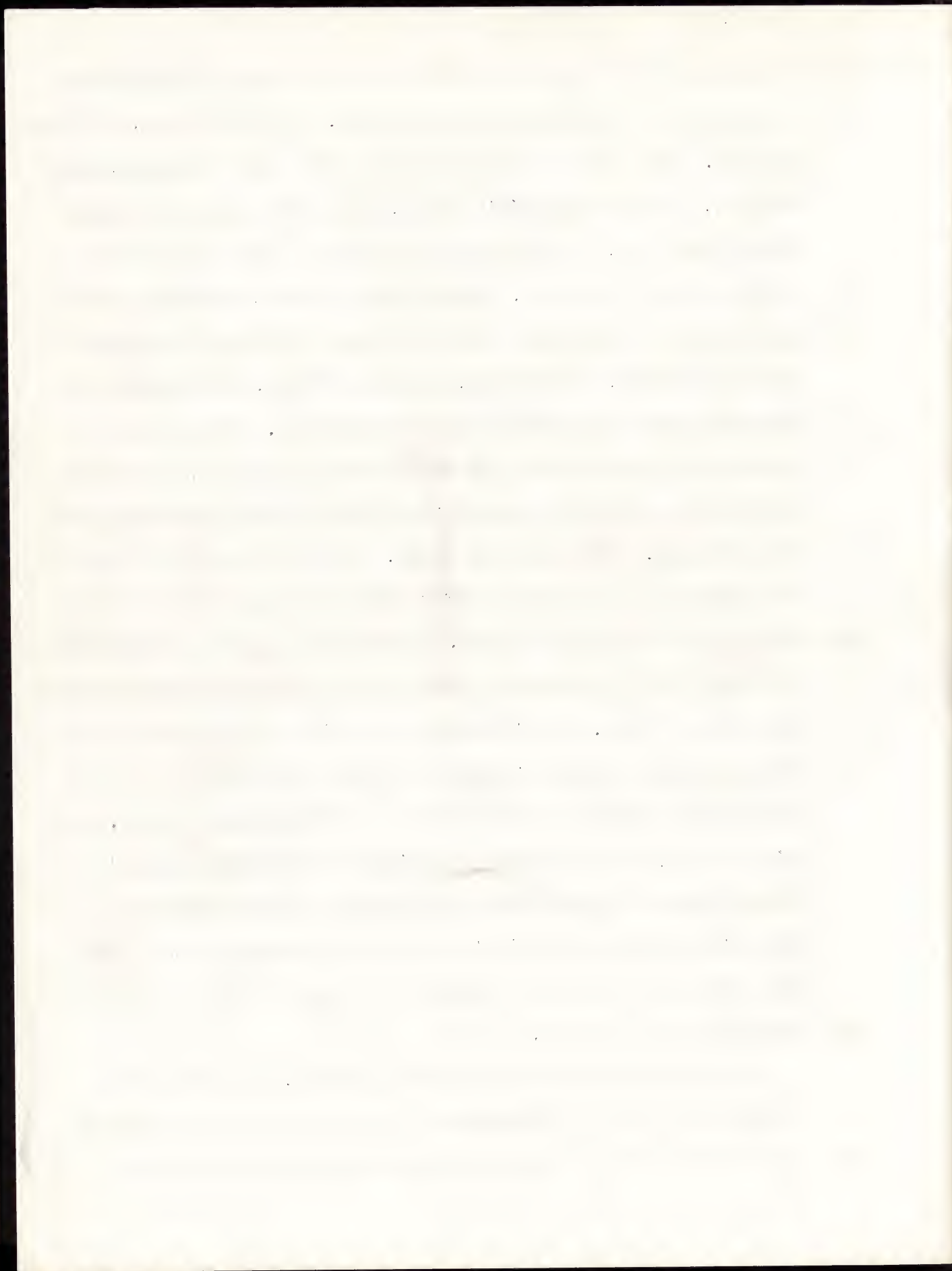
Bélanger's design for the iron and copper dome of the Halle au Blé -
proposed first in 1782, but not built before 1809, six years after
Legrand and Molinos's strikingly simple timber roof had been burned
315 down. Bélanger, Rondelet claimed, incorporated into his final
design important features suggested first in a 'Mémoire sur la
reconstruction de la coupole de la Halle au Blé de Paris' (1803) -
a Mémoire in which Rondelet discussed the advantages of domes in
timber, brickwork and iron, but one in which, it must be admitted,
he concluded in favour of a dome made of interlocking clay-pots.
For iron, he considered, despite its apparently limitless possi-
bilities, should be applied to building construction with caution -
316 'Il faut', he said, 'n'employer les fers que lorsque la nécessité
les rend indispensables, et leur donner les dispositions, les formes
et les dimensions convenables'.

317 In comparison to Rondelet, Jean Nicholas Durand (1760 - 1830)
might seem to have been an architect of a more commonplace Neo-
classical kind. But he was no less extreme in his outlook. The
son of a cobbler, he found a patron in his father's employer, who
sent him to the college Montaigu and thence to a sculptor's studio.
But by the age of fifteen he was working for the architect Pierre
Fanseron (b. 1736) and giving lessons on his own. In the following
year he entered Boullée's office. Boullée was extremely kind to
Durand; he settled upon him a salary that enabled him to compete
for the Academy's prizes - and in 1780 he won the second Grand Prix -
and later to marry a young girl from Versailles. For until, in



[56,57] 518 1788, Durand built the Maison L'huile, rue du Faubourg Poissonnière,
he was awarded no architectural commissions. That house was, moreover,
his last. After 1793 he submitted no less than eleven projects, with
Thibault, another of Boullée's pupils, for public monuments proposed
by the Convention, but saw none of them built; and can hardly have
expected to see them built. Commemorative columns, dedicatory temples
319 and vast public buildings - all are composed on the most magnificent
scale with simple, if startling, geometrical forms. The function of
these buildings is apparently of minor importance. Yet it was
certainly on the strength of these projects that in 1795, he was made
a professor at the Ecole Centrale des Travaux Publics (later the Ecole
Polytechnique). Thereafter he taught. But he exercised his enormous
influence not so much through direct personal contact with his pupils -
320 the men who worked in his office, for instance, contributed little to
the development of nineteenth century architecture - but rather through
the medium of books. His 'Recueil et Parallèle des Edifices de tous
Genres Anciens et Modernes', started in 1800, was probably one of the
most widely consulted text-books of the early nineteenth century. His
'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique'
printed between 1802 and 1805, and his similar 'Partie Graphique des
Cours d'Architecture faits à l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique', of 1821,
were both books of standard reference at the period and were not un-
321 naturally often reprinted.

Durand was an arrogant and dogmatic teacher. His 'Recueil'
broadened the basis of architectural study to include the historical
322 styles entire and most contemporary ones as well, as sources of



inspiration parallel to the main body of antiquity and more or less secondary to it. He showed scant respect for any works which lay outside the limits of his own Neo-classical vision, and without compunction altered a number of buildings to conform to his simple standards of symmetry and monumentality - 'Je me suis permis', he explained, 'non seulement de les simplifier, mais encore d'en offrir qui sont presque entièrement de ma façon, j'espère qu'on me pardonnera d'avoir osé me ranger à côté de ces grands maîtres; pour que l'on fasse attention que loin d'avoir voulu les corriger, je ne me suis attaché qu'à manifester d'une manière plus évidente, l'esprit qui règne dans leurs magnifiques productions.'

His 'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture' was even more determinedly up-to-date. Vitruvius and even Laugier were condemned. The ubiquitous rustic cabin, Durand declared, was not the 'natural' basis of architectural form - and of the orders in particular - 'N'est il pas évident,' he wrote, 'qu'elle n'est que le produit informe des premiers essais de l'art?' - and the human body, far from providing the 'natural' proportions for the orders was not even related to them. Antique columns, moreover, as Leroy had observed, were of differing shapes and sizes; designed not as idealized decorative adjuncts, but as structural elements. 'Il faut conclure', Durand wrote, 'que ces ordres ne forment point l'essence de l'architecture; que le plaisir que l'on attend de leur emploi et de la décoration qui en résulte est mal; qu'enfin,



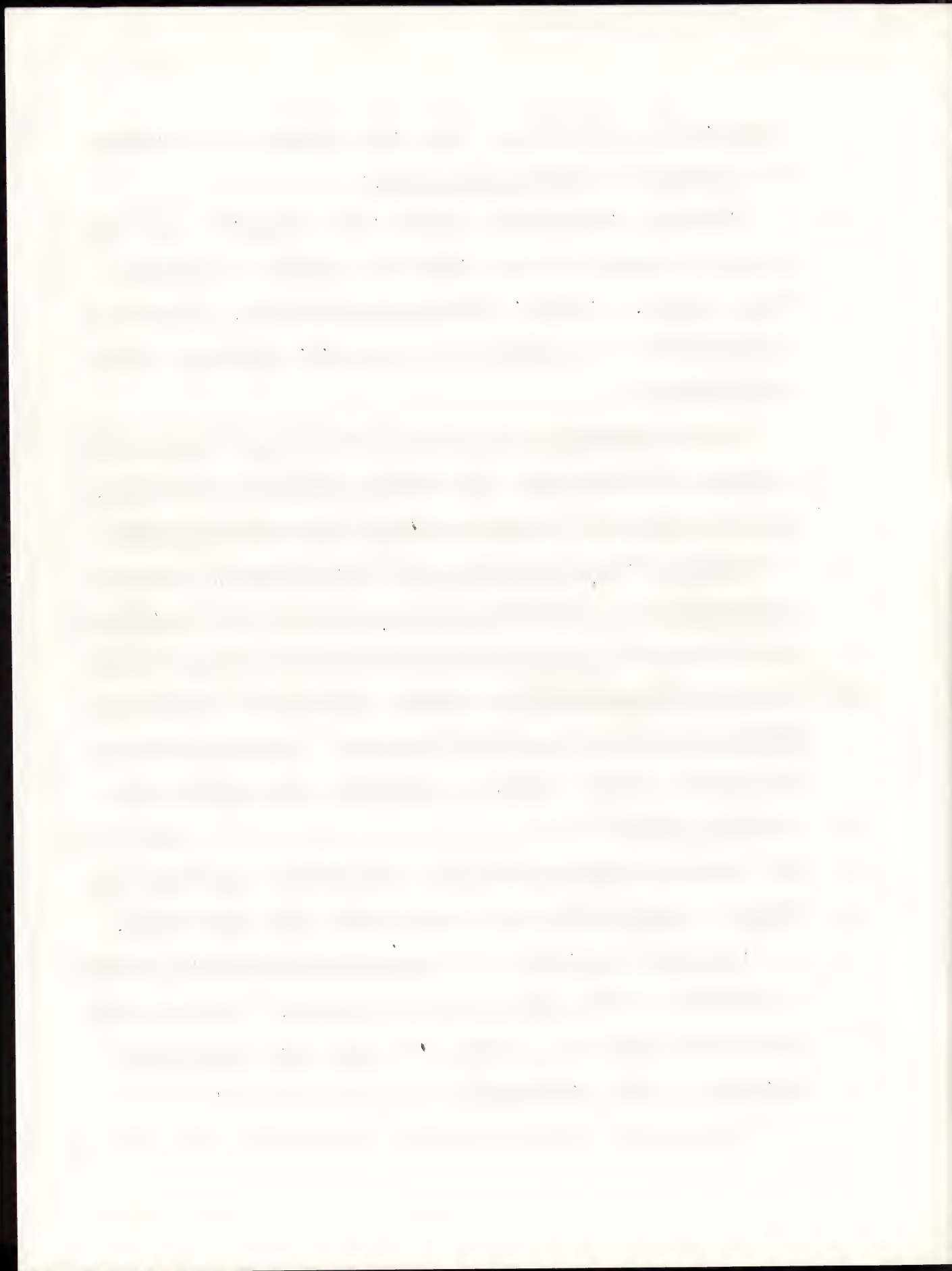
cette décoration elle même, n'est qu'une chimère; et la dépense dans laquelle elle entraîne, une folie.'

327 'Soit que l'on consulte la raison', he added, 'soit que l'on examine les monuments, il est évident que plaire n'a jamais pu être son objet. L'utilité publique et particulière, le bonheur et la conservation des individus et de la société, tel est le but de l'architecture.'

These high-minded sentiments might serve to set him among the strictest of utilitarians; but aesthetic pleasures, he realized, even when contrived by utilitarian means, were neither vain nor
328 contemptible - 'Nos plaisirs les plus vifs', he wrote, 'sont ils autre chose que la satisfaction de nos besoins les plus impérieux?' And he proposed an architecture, therefore, that was based on the
329 principles of convenience and economy; but one that derived its effects rather from symmetry and simplicity. Decorative features he rejected outright; though he continued to recommend the use of
330 orders in a greatly modified form and permitted the introduction of
331 such devices as statues, inscriptions and even growing plants in an
332 effort to provide some pattern and incident in his architecture.

333 'Que pour qu'un édifice fût parfaitement convenable', he wrote, 'il fallait qu'il fût solide, salubre et commode. Que pour qu'il fût le moins dispendieux possible, il fallait qu'il fût le plus symétrique, le plus régulier, le plus simple possible.'

The nature of a building, he held, was inherent in its efficient



planning and construction; its character, therefore, was to be derived from the dialectical expression of function - the presentation of a visible argument to the spectator. The column was thus to act always as a structural support; the pilaster was to be used only to buttress an angle or junction and the cornice employed alone as a horizontal beam or tie - and these structural features, moreover, were to be made of materials manifestly more hard and durable than those of the rest of the building - 'l'on
334 ne sera plus alors tenté d'abandonner cette décoration naturelle, satisfaisante, pour y substituer, par un surcroît de dépenses, tantôt l'apparence d'une construction imaginaire qui, n'étant pas la construction réelle de l'édifice, donne celle-ci une idée fausse, lui ôte de son caractère au lieu d'y ajouter, et tantôt une décoration arbitraire qui résulte uniquement d'un assemblage d'objets inutiles et qui, par là, loin de procurer du plaisir, ne peut que fatiguer la vue, choquer le bon sens, et déplaire souverainement.'

He developed his themes with an implacable logic; but his logic is often naïve and at times not free from sophistry. His justification of regularity and complete symmetry on the grounds
335 of economy is not acceptable, and his similar explanation of his liking for the most regular of geometric figures - the circle and
336 the square - is unconvincing, to say the least - 'Une superficie



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étant donnée', he explained, 'si l'on observe que lorsqu'elle est terminée par les quatre côtes d'un carré, elle exige moins de contour que lorsqu'elle l'est par ceux d'un parallélogramme, et moins encore quand elle est terminée par la circonférence d'un cercle; qu'en fait de symétrie, de régularité et de simplicité, la forme du carré, supérieure à celle du parallélogramme est inférieure à celle du cercle'.

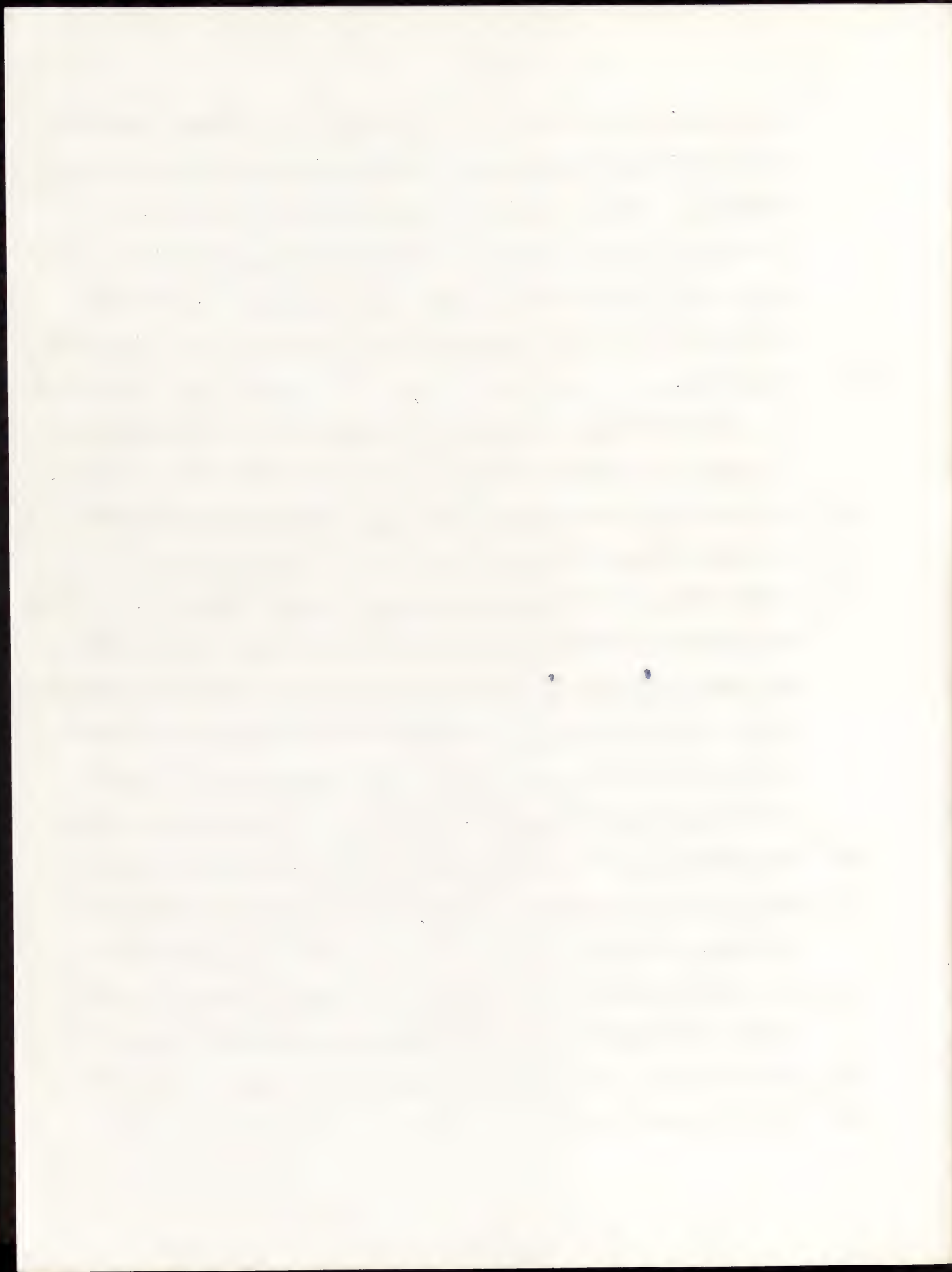
But the disingenuousness of his much vaunted logic is most a parent in his actual instruction and in his projects in particular.

337 He wisely broke away from the normal practice of regarding architecture as three distinct entities - 'décoration', 'distribution' and 'construction' - he explained instead his general principles, described the elements of architectural composition - columns, piers and walls, and even such 'negative' elements as windows and doorways - and studied them in relation to the materials of which they might be constructed; he then attempted to propose a method of composing these elements to form an architectural whole. The basis of architectural unity,

338 he conceived, lay in geometrical relationships. Rooms, he insisted, were to lie on common axes; windows and doors were, as far as possible, to be placed opposite one another and to be equally spaced; and columns, likewise, were to be equally spaced - though here he pleaded the necessity of ensuring that each support carried an

339 equal portion of the load above. He proposed therefore the use of

340 a grid, derived from the subdivision of a square, for all plans -



'La première chose à faire pour acquérir de la facilité à composer', he wrote, 'c'est de s'exercer beaucoup sur les différentes divisions du carré'. Facades were to be built up in a similar manner.

The hundreds of buildings that Durand composed according to this revised Palladian method and with which he illustrated both his 'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture' and his 'Partie Graphique des Cours d'Architecture', incline thus to be neat and regular geometric patterns, no more. As planning arrangements they are altogether unsatisfactory and as three-dimensional compositions they fail. For he composed in two distinct stages; first, as he explained, horizontally, to obtain the plan, and then, vertically, to arrive at the section and elevation. Clearly, he had little feeling for the rhythms of architectural form and space, and even silhouette derived in his compositions to provide only the most straightforward and commonplace effects. His compositions are dull and static. His criticisms, moreover, reveal that he was virtually incapable of understanding architectural movement. Even Sainte Geneviève seemed to him a work of almost chaotic restlessness and Bernini's Baroque invention at St. Peter's he considered a demonstration of vulgar bombast. He admired the formality of the mediaeval colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and was moved to praise the form of the Radcliffe Camera, but the only building that he described with whole-hearted approval in his 'Précis' was the hospital of



347 Ste. Anne, outside Paris, begun in 1788 by Bernard Poyet (1742 -
1824), a pupil of Charles de Wailly. It is perhaps significant
that this work was soon stopped on the grounds of economy and of
inefficient planning.

Durand was the heir to Peyre and Boullée and Gondoin and, to
a lesser extent, to Ledoux. He adapted and developed the dis-
coveries of these men, and he sought to abstract from their works
a formula, fixed and all-embracing, for an architecture of giant
349 monumentality. And he once described his method of composition,
with more than usual honesty, as 'une espèce de formule graphique'.
Blest with small powers of invention, he created nothing new and,
349 not surprisingly, ranked individual inspiration low in his treatises.
Yet, for all their lack of vital stimulus, for all their derived
effects, his designs are undeniably impressive, and it is not
difficult to understand why they were to assume such importance
in the uneventful years of the early nineteenth century; even
then they were not considered as masterpieces of architecture but
as repositories of formal ideas. Durand had offered picture-books
of ideas; sources of unfailing and irresistible attraction to
architects.

Rondelet knew and cared little for formal planning. Durand,
despite his insistence on excellent building technique, knew next
to nothing of the art of construction and was, indeed, bored by
350 it - 'Je me suis attaché surtout à la partie du composition', he



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wrote in 1823, in the introduction to his revised edition of the 'Précis', 'qui, chose étonnante, n'avais jamais été traité dans aucun ouvrage, ni dans aucun cours; tous les détails de construction, rejetés dans des notes à la fin de ce volume, ne couperont plus le fil des idées générales'.

Yet their treatises were neither opposed in spirit nor mutually contradictory. Both men sought to reduce architecture to a simple rational system, and if they arrived at different conclusions as to the essential nature of architecture, they worked at least upon parallel lines. Indeed, the 'Art de Bâtir' and the 'Précis des Leçons d'Architecture' - and later the 'Partie Graphique des Cours d'Architecture' - were regarded by most architects of the period as complementary studies. Rondelet and Durand had, so to speak, reduced architecture to two of its component parts; and those two parts to which Neo-classical architects of the eighteenth century had given their preference - structure and geometric formality. It is not surprising, therefore, that during the uninspired decades of nineteenth century Neo-classical orthodoxy and in particular, for some fifteen years from 1816, when that stubborn reactionary, Quatremère de Quincy became Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux Arts, the books of Rondelet and Durand enjoyed an unchallenged and almost unchallengeable authority. But they gave no vital stimulus to

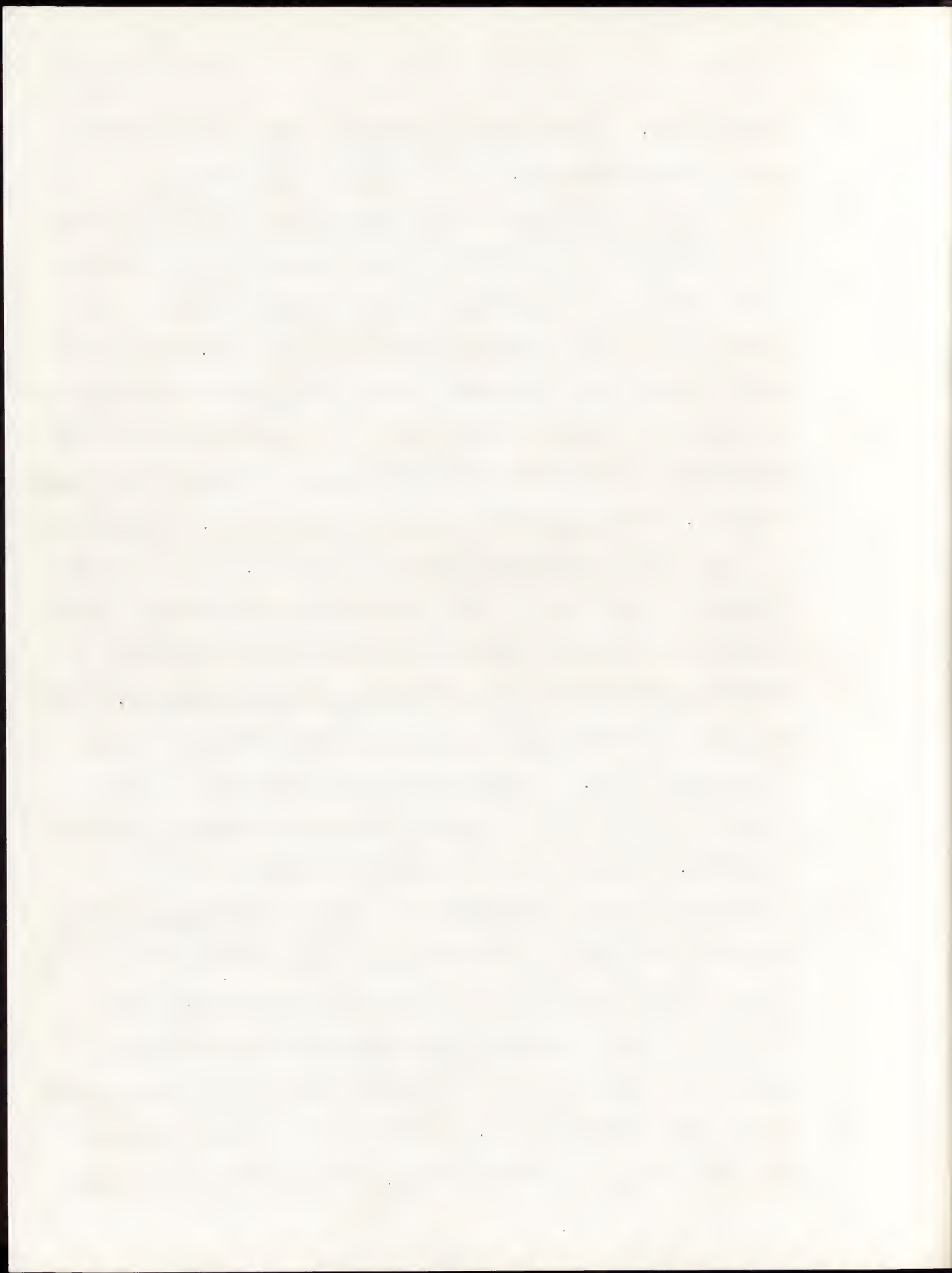
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architecture. Their arid intellectualism belonged to the world of pedagogues and theorists.

But it was due rather to the feebleness and general insufficiency of the architects of the period than to the doctrinaire authority of such works that architecture entered a phase of academicism - in the worst possible sense of the word. Not that the Academy itself was all-powerful; that famous institution was dissolved paradoxically enough by David and his friends during the days of the Convention; and even after its reinstatement, in 1803, under Napoleon, it was regarded with suspicion and mistrust. Only under the Restoration did it regain its former prestige. Thus, not only was there a conspicuous lack of talent among the new recruits to the profession in the early years of the century, but, in addition, an enfeebling lack of vigorous - not merely codified - authority. And without a centralized authority, architects in France felt somewhat at a loss. Taste, after the Revolution, was to a large extent in the hands of a new class of entrepreneurs and uneducated newcomers. They debased the standards of classical architecture with their literary sentimentality and their naive and easily acquired understanding of antiquarianism - acquired not for its own sake, but as a prop to their all-too-precarious newness. They developed and extended that aspect of Neo-classical architecture that had involved a plurality of the historical styles - and the picturesque movement emerged. Hundreds of books were published in the early years of the century to reveal the intricacies and the

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ingenuities of the architecture of Egypt and Greece and Rome, of Pompeii, of mediaeval France and Renaissance Italy; and these whimsical novelties were at once incorporated into the architecture of the period. But it would be a mistake to think that the legacy of eighteenth century classicism was carelessly cast aside. The bourgeois adulation of the aristocracy would have effectively dis-
countenanced any such tendency. Hordes of engaging and altogether
355 satisfactory - if altogether derivative - villas and country houses in the classical style were built, to show that the tradition of Peyre and Chalgrin, Bélanger and Brongniart, Boullée and Ledoux and Gonloin, could be prolonged almost indefinitely. But few able young men saw anything to inspire them in such careers. G. J. Henry (1754 - 1820), A. Aubert, C. F. Mandar, Ollivier, and Ch. P. J. Normand (1765 - 1840) occupied themselves thus; though the last two turned eventually to engraving. Architecture was not an attractive field for fresh talents. Even among the pupils of Ledoux, there were no bigger
356 men than J. N. Soire (fl. 1790), L. A. Dubut (1769 - 1846), and P. A. Vignon (1763 - 1828) - this last taught also by Leroy.

357 Napoleon alone attempted to act as a great and discriminating patron of the arts and to impose a new discipline on architecture. He reinstated, as we have seen, the Académie des Beaux Arts. He enlarged the powers of the Conseil des Bâtimens Civils and revised the building code. He transformed Paris. Roads and bridges, markets and abattoirs, hospitals and cemeteries, and a littér of fountains were built to make her one of the most up-to-date cities in Europe.



His taste was perhaps as sentimental and grandiloquent as that of his hangers-on, but it was not without vigour. The finest buildings of the period are stamped with his characteristic, military trim. Yet the great public works that he commissioned were, for the most part, designed by architects who had made their reputations before the advent of the Revolution. Rondelet tidied up the exterior of the Panthéon and strengthened the supports of the dome (1791 - 1806) -

358 Chalgrin altered the interior of the Palais du Luxembourg in 1797 and 1798, and transformed it completely in 1803 and 1804 (his dramatic staircase and Salle du Sénat were, however, disastrously redesigned in 1836, by his pupil, A. H. de Gisors (1796 - 1866); and

359 in 1806 he began the construction of the Arc de Triomphe (taken over after his death, in 1811, by his pupil, L. Goust (1786 - 1831) -

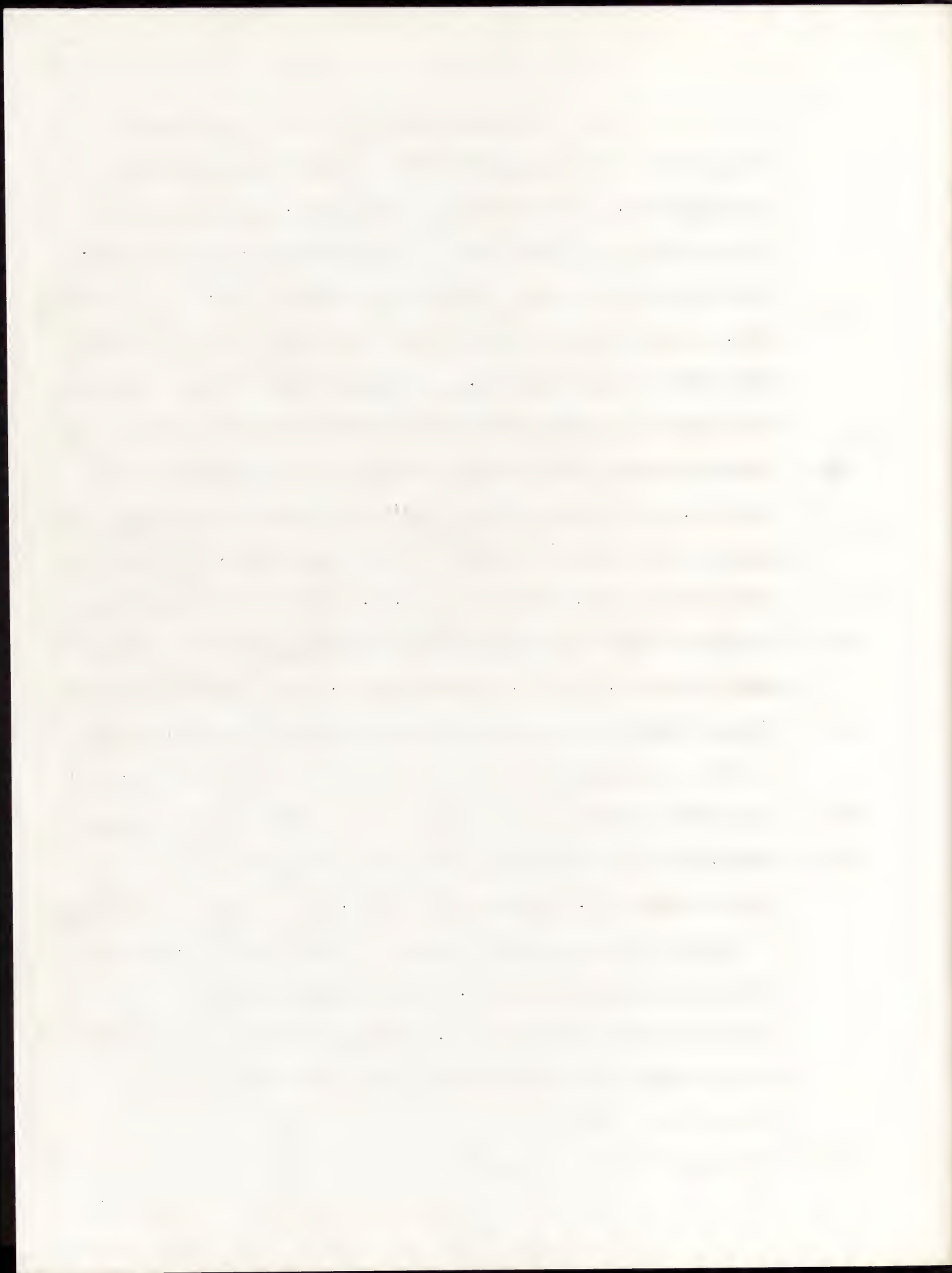
360 Bélanger built the dome of the Halle au Blé (1805 - 1813, demolished in 1885) and began the abattoir of Rochechouart in 1809 - Condoin,

361 with Lepère, erected the Colonne Vendôme (1806 - 1810) and

362 Brongniart built the Bourse (1809 - 1815 - the iron roof truss was added in 1823 by E. Labarre 1764 - 1833).

These works are assured and technically controlled, but their vital visual impact was small. The aesthetic stimulus of the fresh discovery of antiquity was over. And in the works of the architects of the younger generation that Napoleon patronized, the waning enchantments of the Classical world were even less satisfying. The

363 Madeleine, begun by P. A. Vignon in 1807 - after most architects of



the period had submitted their proposals for the transformation of Contant's incomplete church - is a lifeless and unauthentic paraphrase of an antique temple. The giant corinthian portico that Bernard Poyet - a much older man - added to the Palais Bourbon
365 (the Chambre des Deputés) in 1808, was likewise intended as a tribute to antiquity; but all that classical architects had aimed at, from the Greeks onwards - the solidity, the smooth, full form - was lost. The elements are flat and angular, the transitions too abrupt. And
365 the vast Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (later the Cour des
366 Comptes) begun in 1810 by J. C. Bonnard (1765 - 1818) - a pupil of Renard - though inspired rather more by Renaissance than by antique architecture itself, and thus of some significance in setting the pattern for nineteenth century administrative architecture, was unusually dull and inert. It was commanding, grandiose and compact in the correct Neo-classical manner, and one may wonder why it was not more convincing. Yet it was admired in the early nineteenth century - in 1826, when Quatremère de Quincy read his disparaging
367 'Eloge sur Bonnard', the police had to be called in to handle the incensed students of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Bonnard, determined to preserve the symmetry and the simplified geometric outline of Neo-classical convention, had, however, succeeded only in
demonstrating how plastically inconvenient that convention could
368 be - how inhibiting in its lack of movement. The plates of



the 'Grands Prix d'Architecture' published at this time by A. L.
369 T. Vaudoyer (1756 - 1846) and L. P. Baltard (1764 - 1846), pupils
respectively of A. F. Peyre and A. M. Peyre - illustrate, however,
that this was a general failure at the time. Considering that they
form the largest collection of ideal designs by the young architects
of the period, they are enormously disappointing. They lack
precisely that vitality which one would expect from new and re-
generated men. In part this was due to the fact that they were
entering to the tastes of the older generation. But beyond this
is the evidence that they were still struggling with that dilemma
which faced the Neo-classicists of the eighteenth century - how to
achieve geometrical clarity and unity without sacrificing the
interest of the masses.

The achievements of the men of Vignon's and Bonnard's
generation in creating an interior architecture to reflect Napoleon's
glorious confidence in antiquity were scarcely of a higher order.
Before Chalgrin's Salle du Senat was constructed - or even designed -
370 J. P. Gisors (1755 - 1828), a pupil of Guillaumot and Boullée,
adapted the semi-circular seating arrangement of Gondoin's lecture
hall at the Ecole de Chirurgie for the Salle de la Convention,
installed in 1793 in the vast, rectangular Salle des Machines at
the Tuilleries (demolished in December 1800). He created thus the
prototype of the continental parliamentary assembly hall; but he
came nowhere near to solving the architectural problems involved.



The relationship between the semi-circular tiers of seats and the rectangular room was awkward. The acoustics were appalling and the spectators were haphazardly seated in - admittedly dramatic - spaces, hollowed out, as it were, from the thickness of the walls. Between 1795 and 1797 he worked out his idea more fully and more magnificently with E. C. Leconte (1762 - 1818) in designing the
371 Salle des Cinq Cents, now, though greatly altered, the Chambre des Deputés. This semi-circular hall, with its tiered seats and its galleries screened and supported by columns was, however, of no great architectural merit. And was indeed clumsy and without ease in its articulation when compared to the similar Salle du
372 Tribunal that Cl. E. de Beaumont (1757 - 1811) built in 1801, in the Palais Royal. Here Neo-classicism almost came into its own, though it was, almost inevitably, Chalgrin who, in 1804, interpreted Gisor's arrangement with the greatest eloquence and assurance. Even this master, however, imparted no tranquil nobility to his design. The elliptical curve of the roof of the
373 Salle du Senat is, to say the least, disturbing, the detail lacking in precision.

But from the welter of architects employed by Napoleon, two
374 men emerged - P. F. L. Fontaine (1762 - 1853) and C. Percier (1764 - 1838) - to prolong the grand tradition of eighteenth century classicism. Their names are almost inseparably linked, but there can be no doubt who dominated the partnership. Fontaine



was talented and confident - strong-willed rather than stubborn; he was a man of immense charm and was not averse to exercising this charm when occasion demanded. Percier was less obtusive, but no less gifted. He was a meticulous and unfailingly careful craftsman and instructor, but he had less sap and savour than Fontaine; one may regret that their heritage was transmitted largely through his ministrations in their atelier. Pupils of A. F. Peyre - the brother of M. J. Peyre - students of the Ecole de l'Académie Royale, they both showed early promise and were sent, in 1785, to Rome - Percier as a Grand Prix winner, Fontaine as an independent scholar, the victim of his own talent - for he was refused the Grand Prix not through any inadequacy or incapacity but because it was felt the recompense of so fine a draughtsman might lead future candidates to devote too much time to the presentation of their projects. But at the instigation of Heurtier, for whom he had worked, and the Baron de Breteuil, for whom his father - also an architect - had worked, he was awarded a place in the Académie de France. Together Percier and Fontaine measured up the antiquities of Rome - Trajan's column, the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Colosseum - and with Bonnard discovered and delineated her ancient aqueducts. But they found time, also, to survey her Renaissance palaces and surrounding villas with more than usual attention. On their return to France, in 1791, they extended their eclectic tastes still further, sketching the



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Renaissance buildings of France - the chateaux of Ecouen and Fontainebleau in particular - and recording even the Gothic details of Saint Denis. They were both active in the organization of the Musée des Monuments Français. But they applied their newly acquired knowledge most effectively in the designing of decors for the Opera and a number of really remarkable and altogether surprising interiors for men and women of fashion. They juxtaposed details from Egypt, Greece, Rome and Pompeii, with a wonderful tact and precision; sometimes their details were sparsely placed, sometimes they were crowded, but always they appeared distinct, yet convincingly related to the wall and ceiling surfaces and the spaces that they contained. The proportions, as in all Percier's and Fontaine's work, were faultless. Not surprisingly, Jacob, the ébéniste, sprang to fame on the strength of their designs.

They helped J. P. Gisors with the design of the Salles des Cinq Cents; but it was rather through their fashionable practice that they came into contact with Napoleon. Josephine, having admired Percier's interiors in the Hôtel Chauvelin, rue Charteraine (rue des Victoires), invited him to submit designs for the refurbishing of M. Le Coultoux's old house at Malmaison which she had acquired in August 1799. Percier called in Fontaine. They

375 proposed a vast symmetrical scheme, duplicating the existing house, involving the construction of a central pavilion, not unlike the



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Villa Rotunda in plan. Napoleon, however, with an habitual mistrust for architect's follies, restrained them. Instead they altered the existing chateaux with well-considered grace. Their interiors were impeccable. The forerunners of hundreds of stiff Empire interiors, enlivened with acid greens, dark greens, reds, yellows and pale blues, and set off with crisply reiterated, gilded details. The library, in particular, with its slow curving vaults, intersecting, lightly poised on clusters of columns that break the length of the room, is a triumph of its sort. The elegant modishness of the whole was at once accounted a success. But Percier and Fontaine and Josephine quarrelled - they insisted on laying out a formal French garden; she wanted a Jardin Anglais. They felt compelled to resign. In 1802 they were replaced by Lepère.

But already they had won Napoleon's confidence. In January 1801, they were made Architectes des Palais du Premier et du Deuxième Consuls. Thus began their careers as official architects which were to continue throughout the years of the Empire and survive even under the Restoration. They restored and rebuilt the chateaux of St. Cloud, Compiègne and Fontainebleau and prepared plans - partly executed - for the transformation of those at Raincy, Tu and Rambouillet. Even the palace of Versailles was subject to their redesigning. They directed the redecoration of Napoleon's provincial residences - at Strasbourg and Bordeaux - and inspected the plans for his installation in the palaces of



Italy, Holland, Belgium and Germany. They worked for the whole Bonaparte tribe. But their finest efforts were concentrated in the rebuilding of the Tuileries and the Louvre.

I 61 60

In 1801 they replaced E. C. Leconte as architect of the Tuileries. And during the following years created inside that palace a succession of state apartments wonderfully resourceful in their Neo-classical splendour; restrained and compact, yet neither stilted nor artificial. The individual volumes, if one is to judge by contemporary views and engravings, were often of great charm and ingenuity. Though it is impossible to recapture the rhythmic completeness of the whole. The details, at times rich and even heavy, are not too diversified. But nearly all the rooms are composed of mixtures and memories; and lack both the vitality and the vigour of fresh impulse. The Salle des Spectacles - erected in place of the Salle de la Convention - the Salle du Conseil d'Etat and its stairhall, the Salle des Maréchaux, the Galerie de Diane and the chapel - in all of these a slight change of spatial or decorative motives refreshes, but does not disturb, the basic inventions of such classical architects as Chalgrin, Peyre and de Wailly, and Gondoin and even - in the case of the chapel - of J. Hardouin Mansart.

In 1803 Percier and Fontaine took over the restoration of the Louvre from Raymond. They did not, however, undertake any large-scale works immediately. Instead they concentrated on the



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work already in progress and prepared designs for linking the Louvre and the Tuileries and sweeping away the middle of houses, streets and alleys that lay between the two buildings. By 1808, however, they were busily engaged in redesigning the interior of the Louvre, in a style that was not unlike, but at once more rhetorical and less successful, than that of the Tuileries. For their refined and precise architecture was not suited to too blatant a display of heroics. Their Grande Galerie - basically a replay of the library at Malmaison - though superbly detailed and naturally impressive in its length, was yet unmoving; it seems to have had an air of chic monumentality rather than grandeur.

Complementary to Percier's and Fontaine's work both inside and outside the Louvre and the Tuileries were their efforts to ensure a certain dignity of approach to the palaces. In October 1801 they started to construct the rue de Rivoli and its related rues des Pyramides and Castiglione; and within three years their elegant street architecture - reminiscent of that of Turin - stretched from the Place de la Concorde to the rue de l'Echelle. Later, in 1855, the street was extended in accordance with their designs, but the quiet serenity of their architecture was lost in the substitution of vast bulging roofs for their simple, square Mansards. In 1806 they began the Arc



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du Carrousel - an impeccable version of that of Septimius Severus. Stately and imbued with immense distinction, the Arc du Carrousel is yet surprisingly small; a refutation almost of the contemporary critical cant - and certainly Napoleon's - that size was necessary for architectural effect.

376 Not that Percier and Fontaine were opposed to the spirit of Boullée and Ledoux and their circle. Indeed, Percier's large and symmetrical Palais de l'Institut - the design for which he was awarded the Grand Prix - was illustrated in Durand's 'Précis'. And the schemes that Percier and Fontaine proposed for Malmaison and Versailles were conceived on the grandest of scales. Moreover, the palace that they designed in 1811 for the Roi de Rome, on the site of the present Palais de Chaillot, and the immense public buildings - among them a Palais des Archives, a Palais de l'université and an Ecole des Beaux Arts - that they started in March 1812, on the opposite bank of the Seine - all are embodiments of Durand's ideal architecture. Yet the surviving work of Percier and Fontaine suggests that their aims were not as austere as those of Durand - and certainly not as rigorous as those of Rondelet. In the rhythm of spaces, in the balance of modelling and, above all, in the decorative use of detail they showed that their purpose was not to create an architecture of solemn formality, but one in which human beings might move and breathe freely and laugh and make love. They sought to render Durand's ideal, puritanical architecture viable.



Their influence was profoundly felt in France. On their return from Rome in 1791 they opened an architectural studio; and it was from this studio that most of the architects actively employed during the Restoration and the July Monarchy came. No less than eighteen of the young men who won the Grand Prix between 1798 and 1821 were taught by Percier and Fontaine. Their pupils were legion - A. N. Caristie, F. Debret, A. H. de Gisors, J. B. M. Huvé, H. Lebas, A. Leclère, J. B. C. Lesueur and J. L. T. Visconti are to be counted among them. Yet, considering how numerous they are; how disappointing is their output. The answer is to be found perhaps in the all-too-liberal instruction of Percier and Fontaine - 'libre en ce qui concerne les objets de notre art', they wrote in 1833, in their 'Résidences des Souverains de France, d'Allemagne, de Russie etc', 'nous avons cru, toutes les fois que le sujet l'a permis, pouvoir exprimer notre opinion personnelle et professer franchement nos doctrines, sans cependant vouloir qu'elles soient reçues pour bonnes, et prétendre en faire des préceptes'. No wonder then, once the living influence of the great eighteenth century architects lapsed, those young men who thought to maintain their traditions found themselves, suddenly, without fixed principles.

The instruction that Percier and Fontaine gave was sound and sensible always - in the best tradition of J. F. Blondel. But they postulated no awe-inspiring ideal - not even that of ancient Greece.



Architecture, they recognised, like all great forms of art, had to be evolved step by step, so that each fresh example was a development with, behind it, the accumulated weight of ideas of the past, to carry each adventurer further. And they were adventurers - at the Tuileries and at Versailles they achieved some not inconsiderable spans with the use of iron roof trusses - though they based their architecture rather on precedent and observation. Few architects till then had made such a prolonged, laborious and fruitful study of the works of their predecessors. From Egyptian amulets to Gothic traceries, from the humblest buildings of the Italian campagna to the vast palaces of Renaissance Rome, they sketched everything which could add to their already overflowing resources. But certain ideas of formal, classical completeness were so fixed in their minds that their eclecticism is rarely disturbing. They gave to their learned reminiscences so much of their own peculiar sense of style that their sources are often of little consequence.

Even the Gothic decor that they erected in front of Notre Dame in 1802, on the occasion of Napoleon's coronation, conforms strictly to the pattern of their architecture. Yet their architecture was clearly and consciously influenced by that of Renaissance Italy -

'On doit reconnaître', Fontaine wrote in his *Monuments de Paris*, 'que les beautés et les perfections d'ouvrages du quinzième siècle sont plus que celles des édifices grecs et romains applicables à



nos usages - La plupart sont remarquable par la belle disposition et la simplicité de leur plan, par la délicatesse et le choix heureux de leurs ornements, par la variété agréable des matières qui les composent et surtout par une harmonie de richesse et de bon goût extraordinaire. La symétrie et l'ordonnance ont été bien rarement sacrifiées dans la production de cette époque inexorable à des considérations de petites apparences - Ingénieux et féconds en même temps, ils ont su mettre dans leurs ouvrages une variété infinie sans avoir recours aux fantasques et bizarres dispositions que la passion souvent immodérée des nouveautés a souvent fait naître; ils ont prouvé que la véritable perfection de l'art consiste beaucoup moins dans la découverte de choses inconnues que dans l'emploi judicieux de celles dont l'expérience et le bon goût ont déjà consacré l'usage'.

They offered the buildings of the Quattrocento and the Cinquecento as sources of fresh inspiration. Apart from the books already mentioned, they published the 'Palais, Maisons et Autres Edifices Modernes Dessinés à Rome' (1798); the 'Choix des plus Célèbres Maisons de Plaisance de Rome et de ses Environs' (1806); and the 'Recueil des Décorations Intérieures', (1812 - 1827). Yet, never in their own work does the architecture of Renaissance Italy appear as an intact, altogether derived form of expression. It is made part of their own style, inseparable from the Neo-classical architecture of the time. For they were, above all, determined



realists, deeply impressed by the past, but concerned rather with the stylistic and emotional currents of the nineteenth century.

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'Nous ne sommes pas de ceux qui voudraient arrêter la marche du présent', they wrote in their 'Résidences des Souverains', 'en se tournant sans cesse vers le passé; de ceux qui, dans le rigorisme de leur admiration pour les œuvres des temps anciens, demeurent volontairement stationnaires au milieu des progrès, de ceux enfin qui refusant obstinément de prendre part aux découvertes nouvelles, persistent à ne pas vouloir les reconnaître. Certes, telle n'est pas notre pensée. La doctrine que nous professons n'admet aucune de ces préventions, de ces distinctions de renom, de ces préférences d'époque que la passion et l'intérêt, beaucoup plus que le raisonnement, propagent. Appréciateurs réfléchis et sans partialité, jamais dans le long exercice de l'art auquel tous les moments de notre vie sont consacrés, nous avons repoussé les lumières, que les recherches de la science nous ont présentées. Toujours en garde contre les égarements de l'esprit de parti et les erreurs de l'engouement, marchant sous l'influence du jugement et guidés par la raison, nous avons constamment cherché à mettre à profit les fruits de l'expérience. Les essais, les épreuves, auxquels nous nous sommes quelquefois livrés, n'ont jamais été faits au hasard; et si, en quelques circonstances, nous avons éprouvé de mauvais succès, nos défaites sont devenues des leçons utiles. Enfin, pour renouveler ici la profession de foi que précédemment nous avons déjà eu occasion de faire, nous dirons



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que, selon nous, l'architecture, dont l'objet principal est de satisfaire aux besoins et aux jouissances de la vie est une profession grave et utile; celui qui l'exerce ne peut se laisser aller sans de grands inconvénients aux entraînements de l'esprit d'innovation et aux influences de la vogue; inspiré par l'art et conduit par la science, il ne doit, en quoi que ce soit, agir au hasard. Il faut qu'il sache choisir avec discernement parmi les richesses de la nature ou parmi celles de l'industrie, les moyens u'il met en oeuvre, et qu'en ne s'écartant pas des règles d'une saine doctrine, il soit constamment attentif à n'employer qu'avec réserve les choses dont la nécessité ne justifie pas l'emploi'.

With the advent of the Restoration taste in architecture became
385 the prerogative of Quatremère de Quincy. In January 1815, he was made Intendant des Arts et Monuments Publics, a post which, he hoped, would invest him with the high authority of an eighteenth century Surintendant des Bâtimens. Within two months, however, the post was abolished. But on March 29th, 1816, he became by Royal decree, Secrétaire Perpétuelle de l'Académie des Beaux Arts, a position he retained for more than twenty years. By sheer strength of purpose and by stubbornness he imposed his taste on the Académie, and thus on the Conseil des Bâtimens Civils. He was not a creative
386 man - though in 1827 he did try his hand at designing a surprisingly rich and intricate pulpit for Saint Germain des Prés. He was a



scholar and a critic; a critic of the most commonplace, uncompromising reactionary kind. He venerated the architecture of ancient Greece and sought thus to enforce a renewed and unusually
387 strict loyalty to the Greek ideal - 'il n'y a point,' he declared, 'à découvrir'. He was bitterly opposed to what he regarded as the malefic influence of Percier and Fontaine in encouraging a Renaissance Revival. He was an inveterate hater of Gothic architecture. He was largely instrumental in the suppression of
388 the Musée des Monuments Français and when, in 1822, Verdier praised the technical skill of twelfth and thirteenth century masons, he roused the members of the Academy to protest furiously. He might thus have seemed out of sympathy with the artistic currents of the time. But he did offer a definite point of view and an absolute standard of beauty, and one that many architects, confused and enfeebled by a lack of vigorous leadership, were prepared to accept. The Greek Revival was consolidated.

Quatremère de Quincy was, moreover, a persuasive stylist. The Eloges - and there were many - that he read to the Academy and published afterwards in his 'Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes', are written with an extraordinary finesse and charm. Even when he was being most rude and damaging, as he often was, he conveyed the impression that he was motivated by the most sincere search for truth, no more, and certainly not by capricious malice. He passed judgement on most of the great



late eighteenth century architects; and his opinions were accepted and repeated to establish his own peculiar brand of Neo-classical taste.

389 Neither Louis XVIII nor Charles X attempted to emulate, let alone
rival, Napoleon as a patron of the Arts. 'Napoléon', Louis XVIII
390 declared when he saw the Tuileries, 'était un bon locataire' - and he
determined to alter nothing. Yet he continued to employ Percier and
Fontaine, and during the Restoration they created several fine
interiors in the Louvre. In 1816, moreover, they were commissioned,
391 no doubt at the King's request, to build a Chapelle Expiatoire,
dedicated to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, in the rue Pasquier.
This famous building, finished within a decade, was at once admired.
Every shape was given its most simple and satisfying character.
Every plane and outline was made to direct the eye to the centre.
But the attempt to rescue Renaissance architecture from the world
of fashion and to restore to it some of its early splendour was so
personal and complete that it suggested no new developments. Only
the details of the vaulted tombs were copied; the classic wholeness
of the scheme made no immediate impact on the architects of the
period.

 Louis XVIII commissioned only one building not by Percier and
392 Fontaine; the small and dull château of Saint Ouen. It was designed,
however, by J. J. M. Huvé (1783 - 1852) a pupil of Percier and
Fontaine. Charles X was likewise faithful to Percier and Fontaine.
And the Duc d'Orléans, the future Louis Philippe, employed Fontaine



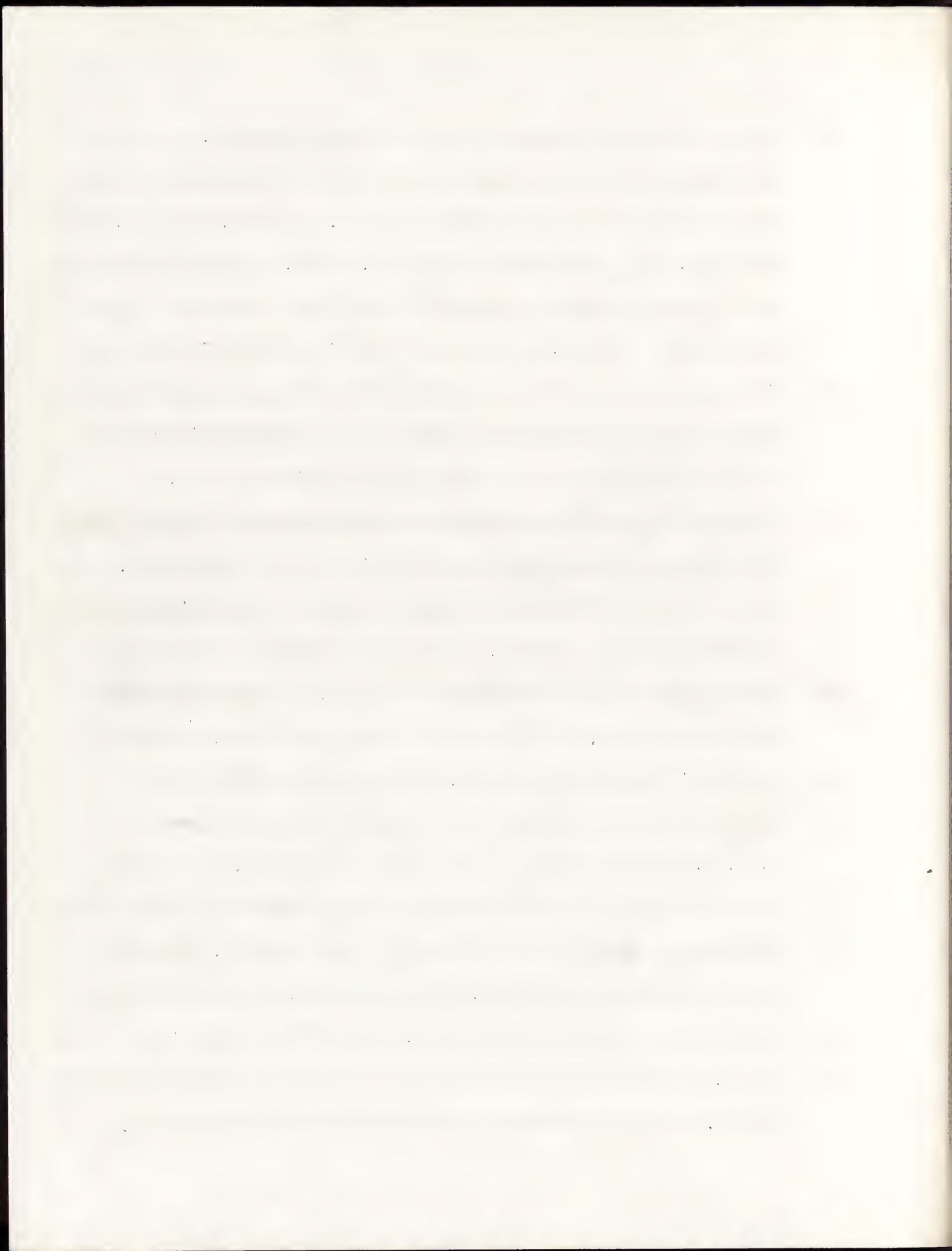
393 when he transformed the Palais Royal after 1815. Fontaine worked
there, well and vigorously, experimenting with the latest iron
and clay-pot vaults. He designed the great gallery in the wing on
the rue de Valois and the stately staircase on the rue de Mont-
394 pensier side; but is remembered chiefly for the Galerie d'Orléans
(1827 - 1829) - now demolished - with its graceful vault of iron
and glass and its no less graceful, though less spectacular,
spiral staircases and galleries of iron, inside the shops them-
selves. All this activity, all these experiments, did not,
however, serve to give to the art of Percier and Fontaine a new
force. They remained upholders of a slightly modish, dignified,
if elegant, Neo-classical taste.

Quatremère de Quincy then, not the royal patrons, was vested
with leadership in the arts. Most of the important commissions of
395 the Restoration period were in his hands. He was consulted by
municipal and ministerial authorities on the appointment of
architects; and when he was not consulted he intrigued to obtain
396 his ends. He abolished all but the most limited competitions and,
in 1817, determined to employ only those architects who had studied
at Rome.

He was wary in recommending the pupils of Percier and Fontaine,
for their architecture involved just that degree of novelty inimical
to his Neo-classical ideal. But he can hardly have hoped to exclude
them from competition. In 1819, Fr. Debret (1777 - 1850), was



397 commissioned to build the Ecole des Beaux Arts itself. Yet he was
anything but a strict Neo-classical architect - he modelled his
building on the Museo Nazionale in Naples. In 1813, moreover, under
Napoleon, he had started to restore St. Denis, and though he showed
little understanding of Gothic architecture, he was sufficiently
sympathetic, in 1824, to write in Courtin's 'Encyclopédie Moderne' -
398 'Bien que je sois loin de regarder cette architecture comme classique
et que je ne la considère au contraire, que comme le délire d'une
imagination ardente, qui semble avoir réalisé des songes, je suis
cependant forcé d'admirer ses monuments comme des productions que
le génie d'un peuple essentiellement poète peut seul enfanter'. And
in his theatres - théâtre Louvois, rue de Richelieu; théâtre des
Nouveautés (Opéra Comique), place de la Bourse - and especially
399 in his Opéra, rue Lepelletier (1820 - 1821), he made no pretence of
his strong liking for the architecture of the Veneto, in particular
400 Palladio's basilica at Vicenza. Hippolyte Lebas (1782 - 1837),
likewise a pupil of Percier and Fontaine - though a student also of
A. L. T. Vaudoyer - won only the second Grand Prix, but he travelled
to Italy no less than three times before he returned to Paris to
work for Brongniart at the Bourse, and then, in 1819, to open an
office and studio of his own. In August 1825, he won the com-
petition for Notre Dame de Lorette, Quatremaire de Quincy's brain-
401 child, and certainly the most important church to be built at the
402 period. Yet it is Roman rather than Greek in its inspiration.



Its basilical plan relates to that of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; its tall, elongated corinthian portico is modelled on that of the doric temple at Cori. At every point its architecture is stilted and artificial. The strong forms of the early Christian basilica are reduced to refined complacency - modishly frescoed and gilded, but vapid. The portico, though more robust, is florid and coarse. It was perhaps inevitable that when this church was completed in 1836, it was acclaimed as the embodiment of a contemporary ideal. In 1833 Lebas designed the Salle des Séances at the Institute -

403 an exhausted pasticcio of Italian Renaissance architecture - a style which apparently found less contemporary justification, for the edition of Vignola's work that Lebas, together with Debret, started at this time was discontinued after the first two parts had been

404 published. J. J. M. Huvé (1783 - 1852) and Jules de Joly (1788 - 1865), both pupils of Percier and Fontaine, though only the latter won the Grand Prix, were likewise awarded important official

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405 commissions at this period. In 1828 Huvé succeeded Vignon as architect to the Madeleine; and though he completed the exterior in accordance with Vignon's early designs, he created in the seventeen following years an interior of Imperial Roman magnificence. He interpreted the Roman bath theme with an unusual literalness and an opulence not attempted in France since the eighteenth century. Jules
406 de Joly was commissioned in 1828 to complete the Chambre des Députés. He remodelled J. P. Cisors's Salle des Cinq Cents, losing in rich



decoration what little order and rhythm of modelling that hall had possessed. He added a vestibule in which the architecture of ancient Rome was deliberately recalled and, in 1833, started the Salon du Roi - decorated by Delacroix. Later he built the library - likewise decorated by Delacroix - and remodelled the old Hôtel de la Présidence. But he derived his effects here less from an imitation of Roman - or other historical motifs - than from a passion for rich and solid comfort. His interiors have some of the grossness of those of the Second Empire.

Quatremère de Quincy's control was thus by no means complete.

He was, moreover, opposed and openly attacked by A. J. B. G. de
407 Gisors (1762 - 1835) a pupil of Chalgrin, architect of the small
408 basilical church, Saint Vincent de Macon (1810), and Inspecteur
Général des Bâtiments Civils. Vignon, despite all Quatremère

409 de Quincy's efforts, was almost displaced as architect of the
Madeleine through the intervention of Guy de Gisors, and J. N.
Huyot (1780 - 1840) another of Quatremère de Quincy's protégés,
almost dismissed from the work of the Arc de Triomphe. Huyot,

410 Quatremère de Quincy's favourite architect, was a man of surprising
tastes. A pupil of A. F. Peyre, the winner of the Grand Prix in
1807, he developed his character neither in the orbit of the Academy,
nor in Rome, - where he spent six years - but in Asia Minor, where
411 he travelled in 1817, and where he stayed four years, excavating,
measuring up and sketching buildings of all kinds. He found time



also to build a hospital in Constantinople and to excavate a canal
between Alexandria and the Nile. Back in Paris in 1822, he was
made Professeur de l'Histoire de l'Architecture at the Ecole des
Beaux Arts, a chair newly created by Quatremère de Quincy. Huyot
412 was not a very active professor, and his tuition tended to be dull.
Yet when, in 1823, he was asked to design a monument on Mont
413 Valérien he proposed not an orthodox work of Greek or Roman inspiration
but a mock-Byzantine church. Quatremère de Quincy's faith was not
shaken. Huyot continued to help him in the writing of the Dictionnaire
414 de l'Architecture, and when, in October 1823, the king decided to
start work once again on the Arc de Triomphe, Quatremère de Quincy
sought to have him instated as architect in place of Goust, Chalgrin's
successor. Huyot had another powerful supporter in the person of the
Duc d'Angoulême, to whose greater glory the monument was then
dedicated, and when, in July 1824, he presented five projects - all
incorporating large, freestanding columns - for the completion of the
arch, he was tacitly accepted as architect in charge of the work. At
this stage Gisors protested that the columns proposed were ruinously
expensive. He was outvoted by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils, but
he appealed directly to the Ministre de l'Intérieur who, on May 12,
1825, ordered that Chalgrin's original design be retained. Heedless
of this order, Huyot laid the foundations for his columns. Gisors
demolished them and on December 16, 1825, obtained Huyot's dismissal.



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Three years later, however, at Quatremère de Quincy's instigation, Huyot was reinstated - but he held his position for only two years.

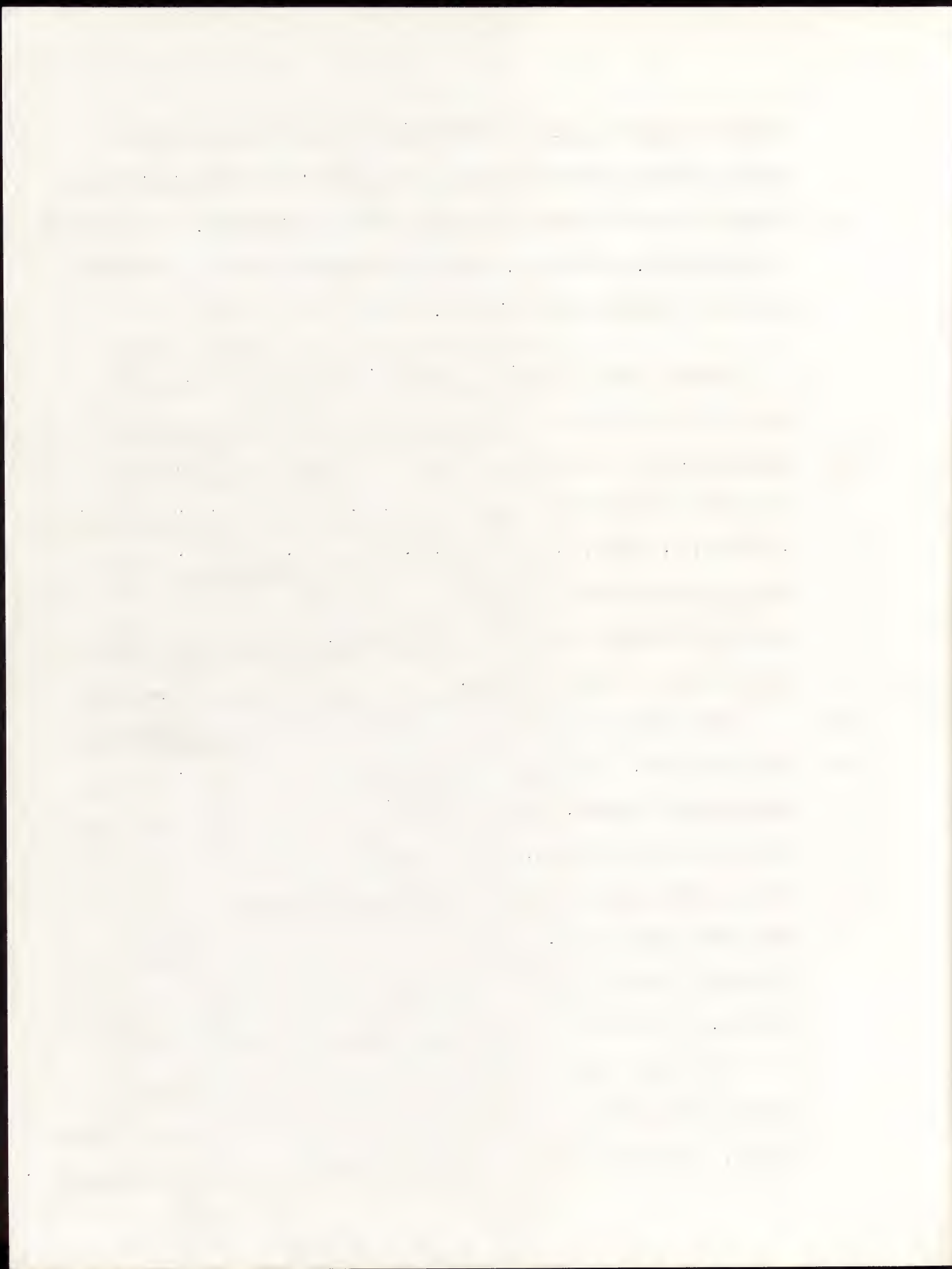
Huyot was equalled in Quatremère de Quincy's estimation by an architect of a very different but no less stubborn character, E. H.
415 Godde (1781 - 1869). This individual was a pupil of C. M. Delagardette; he failed to win the first Grand Prix, but entered early into the service of Paris. He worked as an inspector first under Molinos, and then under Legrand, and in 1813 was made Architect en Chef de Paris, a position he held for thirty-five years. He prepared during his years of apprenticeship an atlas of the churches of Paris - now in the city's archives - and on the authority of this work established himself as an expert on church architecture. He
416 restored and decorated a number of churches - St. Paul et St. Louis, St. Jean St. François, Saint Sulpice and Saint Germain des Prés (1820 - 1845) - St. Thomas d'Aquin (1838), St. Germain l'Auxerrois (1858) and St. Philippe du Roule (1845). He built Notre Dame de
417 Gros Caillou (1822 - 1832), Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle (1823 - 1830) and Saint Denis du Saint Sacrement (1823 - 1835) - all after the fashion of Saint Symphorien or Potain's newly completed Saint Louis; only the last, however, can be accounted a success, though it shows a rather priggish and limited loyalty to Neo-classical ideals. The
418 work for which Godde is best remembered, however, is the Séminaire de Saint Sulpice, started in 1820 but not finished till 1838. With its simple massing, its four floors of rustication broken only by



regularly spaced round-headed windows, it seems almost a work of Durand; though it relates equally to Percier's and Fontaine's
419 projects for the Palais des Archives on the Quai Bravly. Certainly it constitutes, for France, the last full-scale expression of early nineteenth century Neo-classicism.

Distinct from Quatremère de Quincy's select coterie, almost separate from the school of Percier and Fontaine, a group of young architects, born around the end of the eighteenth century, emerged to prolong the classical tradition - J. I. Hittorff, E. J. Gilbert, A. Blouet, F. Duban, H. Labrousse, L. Duc and L. Vaudoyer. They were in revolt against the accepted authorities, yet their strength was derived largely from Bondalet and Durand, whose works they interpreted with a new understanding.

420 Jacques Ignace Hittorff (1792 - 1867) was the least exigent of
421 these young men. Amiable, over-charming and fashionable, indefatigably careful, even meticulous, he seems scarcely suited to the role of a reformer. But he gave to the archaeological studies of the period a new and surprising twist - a twist upon which his distinction still rests. He was born in Cologne, where he worked for a time as a mason's apprentice and built, it is said, a house on the Domplatz. But in 1810 he crossed the Rhine to study under Percier at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and to work with Bélanger, then engaged on the construction of the Halle au Blé and the abattoir of Rochecouart. But it was rather Bélanger's less serious work for the



Menus Plaisirs - later the Direction des Fêtes et Spectacles de la Cour - that attracted him. When, in May 1818, Bélanger died, Hittorff succeeded him in this activity. He was assisted by J. F. J. Leconte (1783 - 1858), another of Bélanger's pupils. Together, in the following years, they designed a number of lively and intricate décors - the decorations for the inauguration of the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf, in August 1818; those for the wedding ceremony of the Duc de Berry and the baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux, both in Notre Dame - the funeral hangings for the Duc de Berry, Louis XVIII, and the Prince de Condé at St. Denis - and the embellishments for the coronation of Charles X, in the cathedral of Reims, in 1825.

Both by nature and by the wish of his employers, Hittorff was thus a decorator; and, like most decorators, he was content with formulae. He used Gothic and Renaissance motifs indiscriminately, reducing them all to rich, if relatively smooth, surface patterns. Form, line and silhouette play but a minor part in his decorations. With Leconte he designed also, during these years, the interior of the Salle Favart (1824) and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique (1827 - 1828), on the corner of the Boulevard St. Martin and the rue René Boulanger. Both are unremarkable works; they show a taste for over-refined, crowded Hellenistic details, with an admixture of elements borrowed from Pompeii and the Renaissance - Raphael's highly coloured arabesque decorations appealing to him in particular. Yet the plan of the Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique, though not unusual,



425 is well considered and the use, in both theatres, of iron-trusses and highly original safety-curtains of iron - all manufactured by Roussel, the constructor of the dome on the Halle au Blé - suggestive of a real interest in practical details. Indeed, this aspect of Hittorff's architecture was to become a characteristic of his art. The panorama and the circuses that he built in the following years were ingeniously constructed. He was recognised at once as a designer of daring and skill.

426 But to the strict rational school of architects, Hittorff's scholarly interest in construction was overshadowed by his liking for decorative embellishments. He remained always a decorator. Yet he foresaw and judged the frivolous prettiness of his royal decorations to be a defect or at least a danger; and he sought
427 therefore to set his aesthetics on a firmer foundation - 'M. Hittorff', wrote Henri Labrousse in 1868, 'semble modifier l'itinéraire qu'il avait suivi dans sa carrière d'artiste; il s'arrêta dans sa marche rapide, et regardant en arrière, il reconnut, je crois, que ses études avaient été insuffisantes et trop tôt interrompues'. He decided to travel. He left in 1820 for England; a few months later he travelled to Germany and then to the south of France. In 1822 he arrived in Italy. In Rome he met T. L. Donaldson (1795 - 1838), a Silver Medallist, later a prominent member and president
428 of the Royal Institute of British Architects, who was to remain



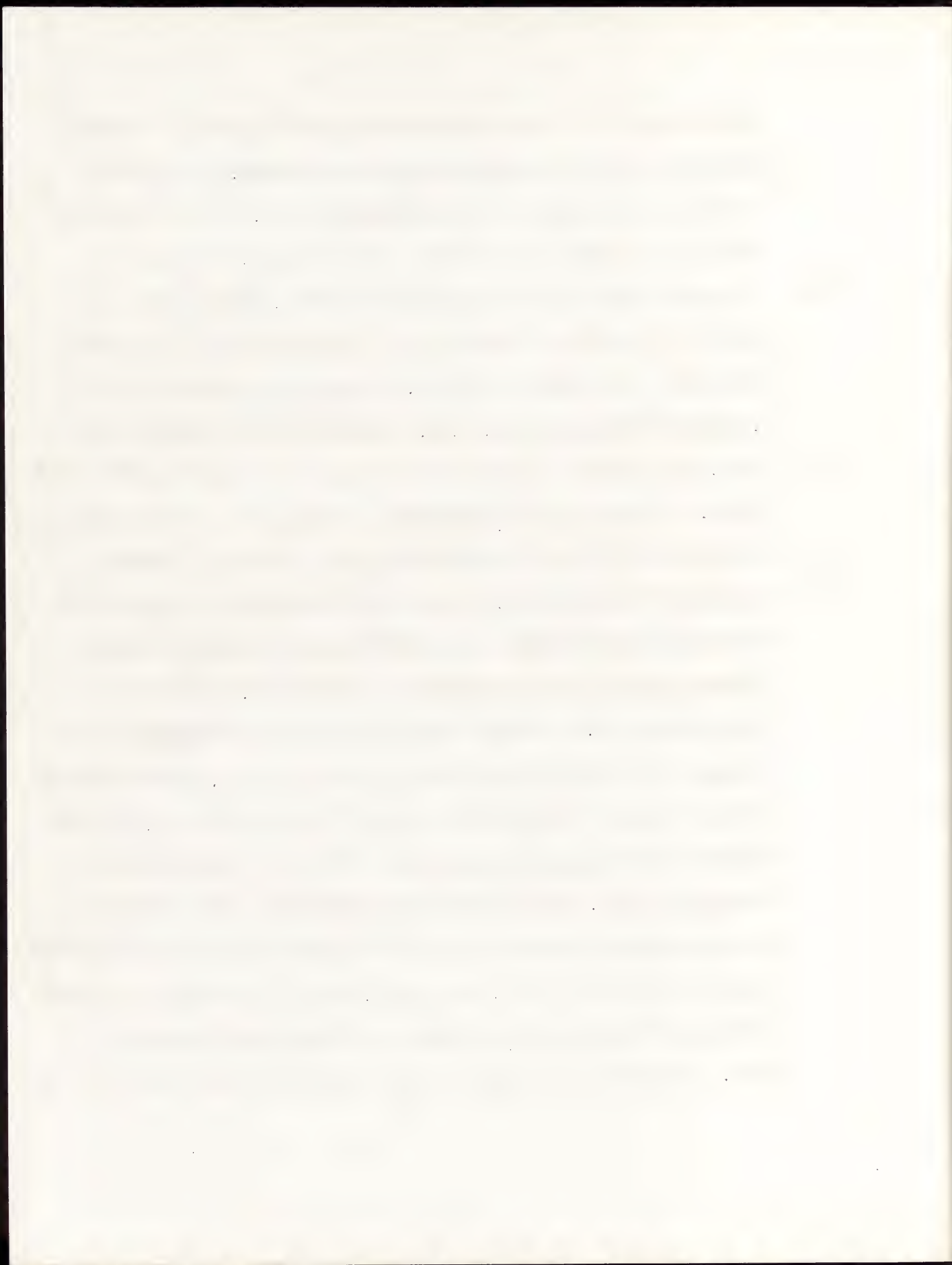
his close friend through life. Donaldson was a member of that group of young English architects and scholars who, through a closer inspection of the monuments of antiquity, were hoping to resuscitate or at least prolong the classical tradition - William Kinnaird, Joseph Woods, C. R. Cockerell and Charles Barry. All had toured recently in Greece. But what distinguishes them, in our present context, is the fact that they had all noticed traces of colour on Greek temples.

The presence of colour on Greek architecture had not hitherto gone entirely unremarked; Edward Dodwell, excavating in Greece in the early years of the century had observed pigment on the remains of several temples. He had told Dufourmy of his discoveries, who might in turn have informed Quatremère de Quincy. For it was Quatremère de Quincy, oddly enough, who first aroused a general interest in the use of colour in antiquity. In 1815 he wrote his 'Jupiter Olympien, ou l'art de la sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue; ouvrage qui comprend un essai sur le goût de la sculpture polychrome.' But he dealt with sculpture, not architecture, and was concerned with the use of semi-precious and precious stones, gold and bronze rather than paint. Antiquity retained, almost unblemished, the mantle of blanched purity that Winckelmann had conferred upon it.

It was Donaldson who first stirred Hittorff's imagination. He had written an essay in 1820 - soon after the return to Rome of

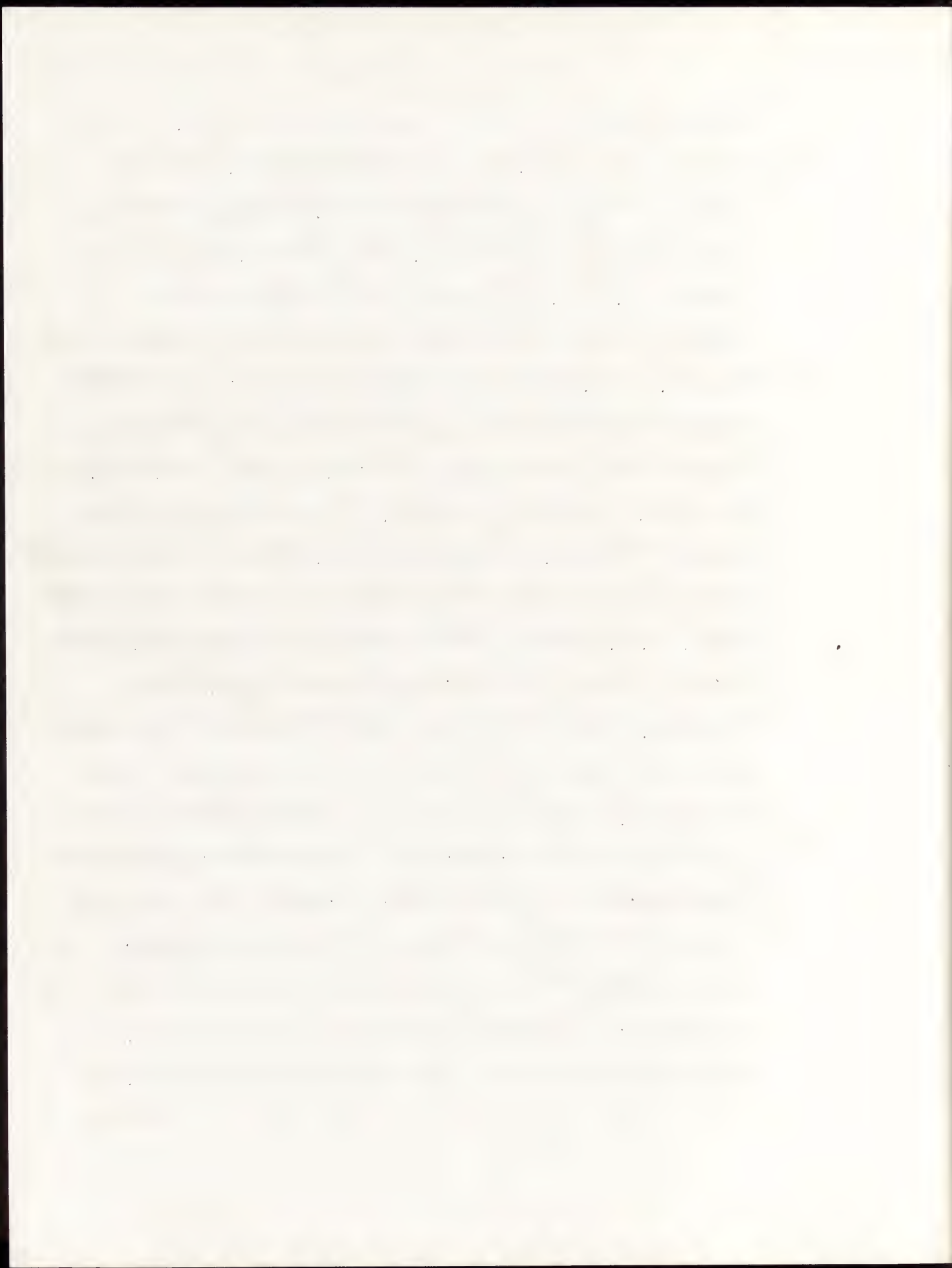


Kinnaird and Barry - in which he had outlined a system of fairly extensive colour decoration in Greek architecture. His unprecedented proposals were an obvious challenge to Hittorff. He was further stimulated, moreover, when in the middle of 1823, William Harris and Samuel Angell arrived in Rome from Sicily, to report the discovery of colour on the metopes of the temples of Selinus. Hittorff left a few weeks later for Sicily. He took with him three pupils, L. Zante (1796 - 1857), J. B. P. Carmissiè (1799 - 1877) and G. Stier (1807 - 1880), later Professor of Architecture in Berlin. Together they surveyed the buildings of the island, taking as much interest in the architecture of the Renaissance as in the more famous Doric temples. But both at Selinus and at Agrigento they found what they were looking for; ample evidence that paint had been used as a decorative medium in antiquity. Hittorff was naturally excited. He recognised this as a sanction for his need to apply decorative trimming and pattern in his work. From his earliest projects onwards, he had wished to make intricate, colourful surface patterns expressive of something more than a mere decorator's whims. But he had found little authority for this aim in pure classic art - which explains perhaps why he turned for his inspiration to Hellenistic, late Roman, Pompeian and Raphaelesque arabesques - even Gothic capricios were within the limits of his range. But from the sanctified Doric architecture of Sicily he



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now imagined, came the real authority that he wanted. He wrote
435 on December 1st, 1823, from Agrigento, to Gérard, to outline a
theory of Greek polychrome architecture. During the following
weeks he developed this theory. From Selinus, he wrote on
December 30, 1823, to Schörn - editor of the Kunstblatt - to
propose a system of extensive colour application in Greek archi-
tecture. And, having found in the mural paintings of Pompei a
further extension and development of his system, he wrote from
Naples on February 17, 1824, to Percier, and on April 5, 1824, again
to Schörn, to elaborate his ideas. Schörn at once published
Hittorff's letters. But it was in Rome, whither he returned
within a few days, that Hittorff most successfully publicized his
ideas. P. O. Brønsted, the archaeologist, was impressed, and
Guérin, Directeur de l'Académie de France at Rome, became a
supporter. Thorvaldsen, then working on the restoration of the
frieze from the temple of Aphaia, on Aegina, confirmed Hittorff's
discoveries. Even in France, Saoul Rochette (1790 - 1854) newly
appointed Professeur d'Archéologie at the Bibliothèque de Roi -
later Secrétaire Perpétuelle de l'Académie des Beaux Arts in
succession to Quatremère de Quincy - having read Hittorff's letter
in the Kunstblatt, tentatively explained to his students the nature
of Hittorff's new colourful image of antique architecture.
Winckelmann's whitened sepulchre seemed a thing of the past. On



Hittorff's return to France in the second half of 1824, Raoul
Rochette inspected his drawings and restorations and declared
436 himself satisfied - 'J'avais été l'un premiers, en France,' he
wrote in 1836, 'à applaudir aux brillants travaux de cet
architecte.' But he soon became Hittorff's bitterest opponent. In
437 1824, Hittorff read a paper to the Academy, in which he described
his experiences in Sicily and, in particular, his findings at
Selinus and Agrigento. In the following year Raoul Rochette read
a 'Mémoire sur la peinture encaustique' in which - in deference
perhaps to the memory of Winckelmann and no doubt under the influence
of Quatremère de Quincy, who can hardly have approved of the extent
to which Hittorff carried his polychrome theory - he minimized the
importance of the new discoveries and disparaged Hittorff's
scholarship. Hittorff was openly undisturbed. In the prospectus,
printed in 1826, to the 'Architecture Antique de la Sicile' that
he and L. Zanthé were to bring out between 1827 and 1837, he wrote
438 with reference to the main temple at Selinus - 'Parmi les ruines de
ce monument, comme dans toutes celles de la même ville, il existe
de nombreux fragmens de sculpture et d'architecture peints de
différentes couleurs ou couverts de stucs coloriés. Les traces
de ce système ne laisseront plus de doutes sur l'usage adopté
par les anciens, de colorier leur sculpture et leur architecture,
de rehausser par la couleur et les ornemens peints, non seulement



l'intérieur de leurs temples, mais encore les murs extérieurs de la cella, les colonnes, les architraves, les métopes, les corniches, les frontons et jusqu'aux tuiles des toits'.

Confirmation for Hittorff's ideas came, moreover, in the form of the published accounts of the architects and scholars who had
439 recently studied the temples of antiquity. Wagner and Schelling wrote reports on the statues of the temple of Aphaia on Aegina; William Harris and Samuel Angell's 'Sculptural Metopes discovered amongst the Ruins of the temples of the Ancient City of Selinus in Sicily' was printed in London in 1826; Baron von Stackelberg's 'Der Apollo tempel zu Bassae in Arcadien' appeared in Rome in the same year; P. O. Brönsted published his 'Voyages dans la Grèce', in Paris, between 1826 and 1830; and Joseph Woods issued his 'Letters of an architect from France, Italy and Greece' in London in 1826. But by far the most authoritative work was William
440 Kinnaid's new edition of the 'Antiquities of Athens', published in London, in four volumes, between 1825 and 1830. In the first volume Kinnaid included his own observations on the colouring of the Parthenon; in the fourth volume were Cockerell's 'Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum' and Donaldson's 'Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae', reports that can hardly have failed to convince even the strongest of Hittorff's opponents that colour had been used on Greek temples.



The related problem of the use of colour in Roman and particularly in late Roman antiquity, was also studied at this period by Hittorff and Raoul Rochette with a special zeal.

441 Hittorff wrote much of the text for H. Roux's 'Vues des Ruines de Pompei,' published in 1828; and in the same year, Raoul Rochette - who had travelled to Italy and Sicily in 1826 to inspect for himself the ruins of antiquity - issued, with the help
442 of J. Bouchet, the first part of his 'Pompei, choix d'édifices inédites'. These magnificent books were hand-coloured, stimulating a far livelier interest in the art of Pompei than the engravings in Mazois's standard 'Ruines de Pompei' printed
443 between 1812 and 1824. But both the new books were limited in range and, naturally, in circulation. It was not until later when L. Barré and H. Roux published their 'Herculaneum et Pompei: Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc.' in eight volumes, in 1840, and Raoul Rochette and Roux issued their 'Choix des Peintures de Pompei' in six volumes, between 1844 and 1851, that the glories of late Roman decoration were revealed to the world in the relatively cheap and gaudy brilliance of the chromo-lithograph.

By 1829 the first five parts of Hittorff's 'Architecture Antique de la Sicile' were printed. Raoul Rochette reviewed them in July, in the *Journal des Savants*, praising the accuracy of Hittorff's measurements, applauding his powers of observation, but emphatically rejecting the idea that the temples of Selinus were



as fully covered with paint as Hittorff cared to believe. Hittorff was incensed. In 1830 he published his '*De l'Architecture Polychrome chez les Grecs, ou restitution complète du temple d'Empédocle dans l'Acropolis de Sélinonte*', in the *Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archaeologica*, and in April of the same year read his almost identical '*Mémoire sur l'architecture polychrome chez les Grecs*' to the *Académie des Beaux Arts et Belles Lettres*. This work constituted his first real manifesto. In it he adopted a stand more extreme than Raoul Rochette can have thought possible. He sought to persuade his audience to imagine a Greek architecture of rich and ravishing beauty; the mechanical smoothness of white marble made soft with a coat of pale yellow paint, the surface modulations made lively with patterns of bright blue, green, red and gold paint - an image which does not, today, seem either tempting or satisfying. Yet Raoul Rochette displayed surprising tolerance in dealing with Hittorff's proposals, in August 1830, in a '*Mémoire sur les Peintures Chrétiennes des Catacombes*'. He found himself unable to accept Hittorff's theory in its entirety, but agreed that colour had been made much use of in antiquity. Even in his more famous reply to Hittorff '*De la peinture sur mur chez les anciens*', printed in the *Journal des Savants* in June, July and August 1833, Raoul Rochette showed no more fight. When Hittorff's drawings of the restoration of the main temple at Selinus were exhibited in the Salon in 1832, moreover, they provoked those outbursts of rapturous applause that



are usually reserved for works of popular appeal. Percier declared himself enchanted. Yet Hittorff's image of Greek architecture appears today almost comically unideal. To a generation craving for the contrasts and complexities of romanticism, however, it must have seemed attractive enough. It certainly satisfied an uncritical hunger and as long as it continued to do so, critics and connoisseurs were prepared to overlook the slackness of Hittorff's design, the weakness of his arguments and the feebleness of his archaeological knowledge. Scholars and students whose knowledge of Greek architecture was not greatly inferior to our own vied with one another in upholding Hittorff's ideas. Discussion became international. Gottfried Hermann published 'De veterum Graecorum pictura parietum conjecturae', in Leipzig, in 1834, as a rebuke to Raoul Rochette. G. Serper wrote his 'Vorläufige Bemerkungen über bemalte Architektur und Plastik bei den Alten' in Altona, in the same year, in support of Hittorff, though he suggested that the pigment employed by the Greeks to soften their marble was vapoury red rather than yellow. In 1835 F. Kugler published his less fanciful theories in Berlin, 445 in his 'Ueber die Polychromie der Griechischen Architektur und Sculptur und ihre Grenzen'. He upheld Raoul Rochette, however, rather than Hittorff.

In England, Lord Elgin's secretary, W. R. Hamilton, read a translation of Kugler's pamphlet, in 1835, to the Institute of 446 British Architects; and in the following year formed part of the select committee, which included such men as C. R. Cockerell, T. L.



447 Donaldson, and S. Angell and the chemist, Faraday, appointed to
examine the Elgin marbles for traces of colour. Penrose and Cockerell
were actively interested in the use of colour in antiquity during the
following years, but not until 1854, when Owen Jones and Matthew
448 Digby Wyatt designed the highly coloured Greek court in the Crystal
Palace was any widespread interest provoked in England.

France was the centre of controversy. Hittorff, having outlined
his theory, wisely withdrew from the field of battle. He published
a translation of Kinraird's edition of the 'Antiquities of Athens',
between 1830 and 1832, and replied briefly to Raoul Rochette in the
Journal des Savants in May 1835, when that critic used a review of
the Duca di Serra di Falco's 'Antichita della Sicilia', as a pretext
to ridicule ^{once again} the idea of a complete system of colour application in
Greek architecture; but he reserved his energies rather for the
'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou l'Architecture
449 Polychrome chez les Grecs', - his famous confession of faith in the
use of colour in architecture, both antique and modern - published
between 1846 and 1851, long after the fighting was over. Five years
later he commemorated his achievements, fittingly, in the construction
of a model of the main temple at Selinus, made for the fantastic
Plon-Plon, Prince Napoleon, who considered a full-scale reconstruction
450 in his park outside Paris. The model was painted by Ingres, Hittorff's
great friend.

Hittorff's defender during the 1830's was J. A. Letronne (1787 -
1848), later professor of classical archaeology at the Collège de France.



In 1835 he published his well-known 'Lettre d'un antiquaire à un artiste sur l'emploi de la peinture historique murale chez les Grecs et les Romains' - a carefully framed indictment of Raoul Rochette. And Raoul Rochette was disturbed by the slurs cast on his scholarship. He wrote no less than three articles in the *Journal des Savants* (published in November 1836, in January and February 1837, and in July and October 1837) to reassert his authority; and in both his 'Peintures Antiques inédites' of 1836, and his 'Lettres archaéologiques sur la peinture des Grecs' of 1840, explained his position in relation to Hittorff. Letronne wrote only two further articles - both published in the *Journal des Savants*, in May 1837, and in June and July 1837 - but he wrote to greater effect. He laid bare Raoul Rochette's arguments, without committing himself on Hittorff's far-reaching proposals. Raoul Rochette wrote elegantly, as Henri Labrousse later observed - 'mais peut être avec une certaine légèreté, qui, au lieu de diminuer l'importance des faits qu'il discutait, ne dénotaient de sa part que l'insuffisance d'études sérieuses des ruines nombreuses qui conservaient encore des traces certaines de leur coloration primitive'.

But it is a mistake to discuss Hittorff's hypotheses in archaeological terms; his ideas were based on an aesthetic ideal to which facts were purely subservient. He was concerned simply to bring the forces of the past to bear on the present. And, if we are to judge by his 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle', he attached small importance to historical study beyond its relevance to the present -



'Le but de mes études', he wrote, 'qu'elles eussent pour objet les monuments antiques ou modernes, a toujours été de chercher des éléments propres à me servir avec utilité dans la carrière pratique de l'architecture. J'ai donc tâché, partout où la raison m'en démontrait la convenance, d'introduire dans la distribution, dans les moyens de construction et de décoration des édifices que j'avais à élever, ce que ces études me montraient d'un avantageux emploi. Mais ma sincère admiration pour les œuvres d'art antique ne m'a pas empêché de reconnaître, dans beaucoup de productions des anciens, ou une infériorité individuelle, ou une influence étrangère à l'art et nuisible à sa perfection. Aussi je n'ai jamais fait usage d'un élément antique parce que je l'avais vu employé par les artistes grecs et romains, mais parce que je l'avais jugé bien appliqué par eux, et que son nouvel emploi devait, indépendamment de son origine, amener un résultat satisfaisant.'

He designed thus by analogy. For almost all his architectural works and even for his most daring structural experiments, he found an historical precedent. But if he felt impelled to turn to the past for inspiration, he rarely copied directly from his historical models; he used his observed facts only as points of departure for the creation of a number of highly personal, idiosyncratic, often ridiculous buildings. He was unable, however, to master his themes; his style derives from his distinctive decorative applications. His buildings are a sum of fancies and fashions; an array of unresolved features;



and it is rather the peculiar scholarly intensity of his enthusiasms that one finds oneself contemplating in examining his buildings, than the imaginative fusion of their component parts. He was
453 avowedly eclectic in his tastes - 'l'architecte', he said in a 'Notice sur Sir Charles Barry' written in August 1860, 'dont le génie est guidé par le goût, par la science et la raison, est plus capable de s'approprier l'esprit des oeuvres d'architecture de toutes les époques que des hommes qui circonscrivent leurs facultés et leurs études dans une étroite spécialité'. But he was a man of small critical insight and it was certainly not his reason that guided him in his borrowings. In 1825, in designing the decorations for Charles
65.66 454 X's coronation in the cathedral of Reims, he adopted the Gothic motif with an obvious feeling for the vivid attractiveness of its pattern-making possibilities; yet he was uninhibited by an understanding or a respect for the style to the extent of chipping away mouldings and casting down statues to make way for his own devices. For this feckless unconcern he was not soon forgiven - he felt compelled to undertake a short journey to England and Germany soon after, so
455 great was the outcry of outraged Gothic romanticists. Later, in 1845, in designing the Comtesse Potocka's colourful tomb in the Cimetière du Nord, he employed the Gothic style once again, and paraphrased it - taking as his model St. Germain l'Auxerrois - to
456 absurd resulting effect in designing the Marie du 1^{er} arrondissement,



built between 1857 and 1861. Yet he disliked Gothic architecture -
457 he deplored, for instance, the fact that Barry had been forced to
commemorate it in designing the Houses of Parliament - and showed no
458 interest in its more rational attributes. 'Les monuments gothiques',
he wrote around 1837, in the text to his 'Architecture Antique de la
Sicile et de la Grèce', paraissent au premier abord différer essentielle-
ment des monuments anciens; mais lorsqu'on étudie l'architecture
ogivale pendant le long tatouement qui la conduisit à un degré de
perfection relative, où elle suit à peine se maintenir, on reconnaît
bientôt que dans leurs parties les plus essentielles, ces édifices
sont de constantes réminiscences de l'architecture antique'. But he
was by then repeating critical cant; his remarks show no real grasp
of his subject.

Similarly he condoned the attractive richness of the Moorish
models which served as the basis for L. Zanth's fantastic and costly
459 'Wilhelm', built outside Stuttgart between 1840 and 1851; though he
was guided in his argument by a slack aesthetic ideal rather than reason
460 - 'l'esprit rational', he wrote, 'qui en est l'essence a réglé l'essor
de son imagination; et en suivant cette voie, M. Zanth devait être
assuré, tout en élevant un palais arabe, de marcher sur la trace des
glorieux auteurs des plus beaux monuments grecs.' His rumblings
suggest a scant understanding of even his much-loved Greek buildings.

But Hittorff was on firmer ground when he turned to the Renaissance
461 for inspiration. Soon after his return from Italy, in 1824, he



started work on his 'Architecture Moderne de la Sicile', published between 1826 and 1835 - a companion volume to the 'Architecture Antique de la Sicile'. In 1844 he first issued his 'Parallèle entre les arabesques peintes des Anciens et celles de Raphael et de ses élèves'. The enthusiasms of which these works were an expression were reflected early, and with a certain conviction, in his architecture - in the Salle Favart, designed in 1824; in the Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique, built between 1828 and 1829; and in the house that he projected outside Bordeaux in 1830. This house, though unremarkable enough, is a pleasant reminiscence of sixteenth century Palazzo Cuto, near Palermo.

But the building in which Hittorff's accumulated ideas were most splendidly expressed was Saint Vincent de Paul. This church, sited high above the Place Lafayette, was started within a few months of his return from Rome. The foundation stone was laid on August 15th, 1824. But work was suspended during the following year, not to be taken up again until 1831, and not to be completed before 1844. The church was commissioned from J. B. Lepère, Hittorff's father-in-law; but the design is chiefly Hittorff's, as is the construction. In 1831 Lepère was appointed to restore the château of Fontainebleau.

Hittorff, as one might expect, chose his models with much merry freedom. His plan was intended to evoke the basilica of Fano, though it relates more clearly to the Early Christian basilicas of Rome - in deference perhaps to Notre Dame de Lorette, rising nearby, and



where, in 1832, Hittorff himself worked with Lebas. The main
façade of St. Vincent de Paul is certainly derived from another
469 of Lebas's designs - a project for a cathedral, done no less than
fifteen years earlier. The ramps leading up to Hittorff's church
are taken from those of the French church in Rome; while the whole
interior of St. Vincent de Paul, with its double rows of yellow
stuccoed columns, supporting gilded entablatures; with its superbly
coloured frescoes by Hippolyte Flandrin and Picot; and, above all,
its intricately carved and painted timber roof trusses; is a
self-conscious paraphrase of that of the cathedral of Monreale in
470 Sicily - a sort of latter-day expression, Hittorff imagined, of
Greek polychrome architecture. The painted panels with which he
73 471 proposed in 1844, to cover the wall of his portico, were likewise
intended to conjure up Grecian glories. Certainly, his con-
temporaries recognised in St. Vincent de Paul a conspicuous example
of a Greek Revival.

But all this learning and reminiscence does not make St.
Vincent de Paul more telling as a work of architecture; it renders
it, very characteristically, a product of Hittorff's imagination.
The architecture is unsustained and generally unconvincing. Even
the exposed roof trusses, as Viollet-le-Duc observed, are not, as
one might expect, expressive of structural logic, but are rather
472 decorative adjuncts - 'Les gens curieux', Viollet-le-Duc wrote, 'et
qui veulent se rendre compte de tout ne comprennent pas trop
comment ces charpentes apparentes à l'intérieur s'arrangent avec



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la forme des toits visible à l'extérieur'. And one may wonder why the limited and uncertain quality of Hittorff's distinction being readily apparent, so many of his contemporaries found pleasure without alloy in St. Vincent de Paul. Yet, despite the very real shortcomings of his creative powers, Hittorff's buildings were informed with a number of new and exciting ideas. He tried seriously, as we shall see, to interpret the past in terms of nineteenth century technical achievements. He provokingly reassessed the classical heritage, preparing the ground for a revolt against academic authority. He was one of the first men to break down the accepted classical convention about Greek buildings - blanché by time when Europe's eyes first found them, their whiteness was and is, even today, an obstinate, false, classic ideal. Hittorff was called a romantic because he attempted to dispel this ideal. He was called an eclectic because he introduced a new richness of detail into his architecture - a movement which found its counterpart in

473 England, for the richly modelled porch of Vincent de Paul, strangely contrasting with the flat, meagre appearance of the mass behind, finds its parallel in the entrance façade of Cockerell's library at Cambridge, and the portico of Basevi's Fitzwilliam Museum, also at Cambridge, both begun in 1837, at a moment when English admirers of Greek architecture were beginning to turn from the early purity of the Greek Revival.

To assess Hittorff fairly, one must take account of his immense influence in stimulating a spirit of enquiry. He, almost unaided,



disrupted the torpor of those architects who had learned to regard Greek architecture as a rigidly codified, sacrosanct authority; who, if they cared for something more lively in their architecture, reproduced Roman details in buildings of very indifferent quality. The Renaissance alone, under the guidance of Percier and Fontaine, served during the early decades of the century, to inspire something more forceful in architecture, but the Renaissance was regarded always as a secondary and thus slightly inferior source of inspiration. Hittorff did not - despite the success of his 'Architecture Moderne de la Sicile' - attempt to remove the stigma attached to Renaissance architecture; he turned his attention instead to the main body of Antiquity. He drastically altered the established conventions regarding Greek architecture; he gave a new importance to the art of Pompeii. He showed that the past could be reassessed - and reassessed in a fundamental way. He prepared the way for a group of more rigorous reformers.

- 474 G. A. Blouet (1795 - 1853) was inspired by Hittorff to the extent of adding touches of colour to the restorations of the temples of Zeus at Olympus and Aphaia at Aegina that he undertook immediately
- 475 after his return from the Morea. He was sent to the Morea in 1829 by the French Government - surprisingly enough - on Quatremère de Quincy's recommendation. Quatremère de Quincy, moreover, had
- 476 found for him the position of 'Architect des Thermes de Julien: Conservateur de bains antiques' in 1827. Yet there is no reason



to think that Quatremère de Quincy was suddenly transplanted in Blouet's esteem by Hittorff. Quatremère de Quincy required a tame young architect of talent to show that Hittorff's archaeological discoveries would be interpreted with reticence; Blouet required a patron.

The son of a craftsman at Passy, he was apprenticed at thirteen to an instrument maker; he worked thus for four years, studying drawing at night. At the age of seventeen he found a position with a surveyor, working on the site of Percier and Fontaine's Palace du Roi de Rome. Encouraged by a young architect, Macquet, Blouet entered the office of Mouillefarine and moved later to that of Delespine. He showed a marvellous aptitude for architecture. In September 1814 he entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts; seven years later he won the Grand Prix. In Rome he worked on the excavations of the Baths of Caracalla, and chose those ruins as the subject of
477 his principal restoration. His drawings were published in 1828 by the Academy.

Blouet was a man of talent, but not too much independence. The pupils who worked in his studio - started soon after his return from Rome in 1826, and continued until his death in 1853 - remembered him as a kind and grave personage, but not as a man of passion or personal power. And when, in 1846, he was made Professeur de Théorie de l'Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, César Daly, editor of
478 the Revue Générale de l'Architecture, wrote - 'M. Blouet n'est ni terne ni brillant - Ne cherchez dans son discours ni une grande



rigueur d'expression ni de ces idées générales qui dénotent un esprit philosophique; mais, à travers l'incorrection du mot et le tissu un peu lâche des idées, vous trouverez le plus souvent le cachet du bon sens pratique'.

Yet Blouet was a man of some influence. He was often identified with that group of young men in whom, one might rather pedantically say, leadership was vested. He built little; he is remembered today
479 only as the architect of the upper part of the Arc de Triomphe - a
commission he took over from Huyot in July 1881 and completed within
480 five years. But he identified himself early with Jacques Emile
Gilbert (1793 - 1874), one of the most austere and highly thoughtful
of the young reformers. Gilbert was trained in the rational tradition
of Rondelet and Durand. In 1811 he entered the Ecole Polytechnique;
two years later, however, he moved to the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where
he worked with Barthélemy Vignon. In 1822 he won the Grand Prix. His
481 design - 'Une Salle d'Opéra' - inspired by the Colosseum in Rome, was
conceived in the grand, late eighteenth century monumental manner;
it is vast and uncompromising. In Rome Gilbert found Blouet, and
together they measured up a number of antique monuments. Back in
Paris Gilbert became Blouet's inspector at the Arc de Triomphe. But
Gilbert remained the mentor.

Gilbert, later critics declared, was a constructor, not an
482 architect - 'il préfère', his pupil Abadie wrote, 'à s'occuper des
causes qui engendrent les formes que des formes elle mêmes.' Equally



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Gilbert was concerned to restore to architecture those life-giving harmonies it had lost at the end of the eighteenth century. He rejected with scorn the expedients employed by the fashionable and, from a financial point of view, wonderfully successful followers of Percier and Fontaine; the application of decoration he regarded as a naive and altogether unsatisfying stratagem, designed to mask a paucity of invigorating inspiration. He sought, therefore, to give a new life to architecture by placing an emphasis on its moral and social usefulness. He became immersed in the study of buildings in which human conditions were then at their most degraded - prisons
483 and hospitals and asylums. His great works are the Maison d'Aliénés at Charenton, built between 1838 and 1845, and the Mazas prison,
484 designed with the help of Lecoq in 1836, but not started before
485 1843, to be completed seven years later. In 1862 he started the Préfecture de la Police; two years later, with his son-in-law, A.S.
486 Diet, he designed the vast Hôtel Dieu on the Cité. He built, also,
487 the Morgue on the Pont St. Michel (1861 - 63).

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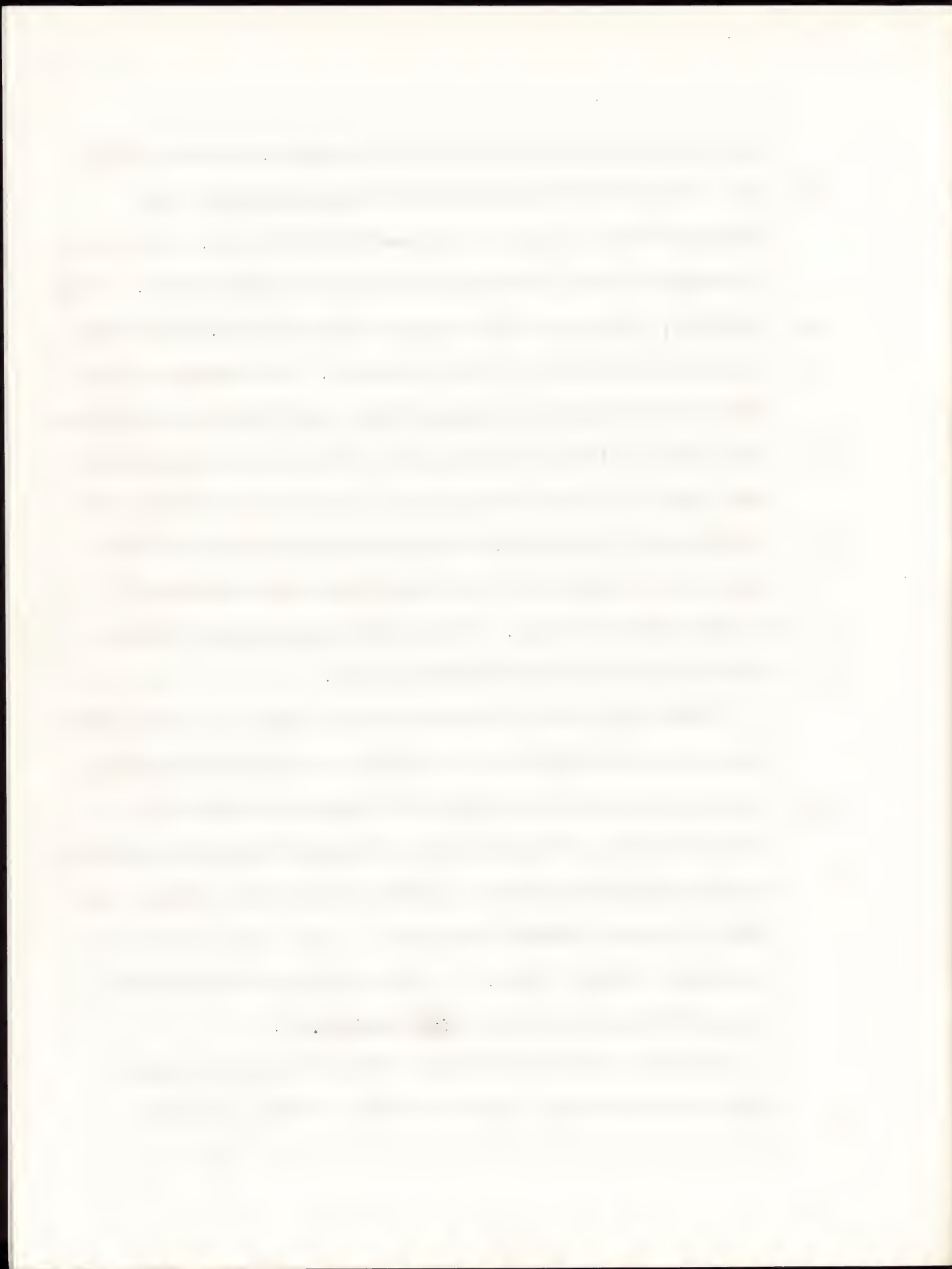
Gilbert was borne along on that intellectual, humanitarian tide on which the Saint-Simonists sailed home to success. But he
488 was not a Saint-Simonist. Saint-Simon was but vaguely concerned with the future of architecture - he thought innocently to bring architecture into line with his social theories by adding decorative
489 features to factory roofs. Yet the new quarter that Stolz and Fries



built at Mulhouse for the Société Industrielle, between 1826 and
490 1828 - long before Fourier conceived his Phalanstère - was
probably directly inspired by Saint-Simonist thought. Not that
Saint-Simon's late disciples profited much by this example. They
491 travelled, Enfantin at their head, to Egypt in 1834, to lay out a
new town for excavators of the Suez Canal. The town was to be
built in the likeness of a human figure - the temples and academies
of art were to lie at the Heart, the scientific institutes at the
head, while the limbs of the desert giant were to be formed with
factories and storehouses. One may feel satisfied that for the
sake of Saint-Simonists' future reputation, this impractical
project never took shape. The faithful promoters of the new
Pantisocracy were decimated by the plague.

Gilbert was stirred by more practical men, by those energetic
campaigners, starting with John Howard in England and Beccaria in
492 Italy, who stirred the conscience of Europe and even America, to
initiate a whole series of prison reforms and far-reaching changes,
designed to separate first the sick and insane from criminals and
then to classify prisoners according to their age, their sex and
the nature of their crimes. By 1820, asylums and prisons had
become distinct and different institutions.

In France the first realistic efforts to improve prison
conditions were incorporated in the Code of 1791 - based on



Beccaria's recommendations. It was followed during the ensuing years by a host of laws and decrees and, in particular, those of 1814, clarifying the rather vague general requirements of the Code, and providing for the erection of a number of highly differentiated Maisons Centrales. In 1812 M. R. Penchaud (1772 - 1833) designed
493 the Maison d'Arrêt et de Justice at Aix, but construction was not begun before 1827. In 1820 J. B. P. Harou (1761 - 1822) prepared
494 a plan for the Maison Centrale de Détention at Beaulieu, outside Caen, but at the request of the newly formed 'Société Royale pour l'amélioration des prisons', his drawings were altered and the building put up between 1822 and 1842 is attributable rather to his son, Harou Romain (1797 - 1866) who took charge of the work after the death of his father. Both the new prisons were planned around the sides of a square, with a circular chapel in the centre linked to the main dormitory blocks by four radial arms in which were placed work rooms and offices. Penchaud's building was erected on foundations laid by Ledoux, but the pattern of these buildings is
495 not late eighteenth century; they derive rather from Le Vau's seventeenth century Salpêtrière.

Though the new buildings faithfully reflected the nineteenth century conception of prison life as one demanding discipline, organisation and a high degree of differentiation, they were the baldest of statements. In 1825, M. de Chabrol, Préfet de la Seine, drew up a new programme for a model prison with individual



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cells for each of the inmates. The scheme was put out to competition and won by Hippolyte Lebas. Lebas had travelled to England early in 1825 and the vast hexagonal 'Maison des Jeunes Détenus' that he built in the rue Roquette in the following years was a modified version of the radially planned Millbank Penitentiary, erected between 1812 and 1821 by Harvey on the site of Jeremy Bentham's ill-fated Panopticon. Lebas took his plan from the Millbank penitentiary; but it is not at all unlikely that he knew of Harvey's own model, the Maison de Force at Ghent, designed in 1772 by Vicomte Vilain XIIII. Lebas was, moreover, designing in the essentially French tradition of Pyet's vast radially planned hospital, projected in 1785 for the Ile des Cygnes.

Lebas's building is not a success. The radial plan is employed to little resulting effect. At Millbank the focus of the design is an observation post incorporating a rudimentary chapel; at the rue Roquette prison an independent, domed chapel lies at the centre of the plan. Gone is the 'raison d'être' of the whole plan. The giant formality of Lebas's design is an end in itself. He was a man of art, self-consciously trying to reach a solution to a new set of problems without disturbing in any way his established notions of planning and massing. He is of the school of L. P. Baltard, the architect of the Palais de Justice and the Maison de Correction at Lyon; who wrote, in 1829, of his own urbane and uncomplicated



prize-winning design - 'ce n'est pas assez pour la restauration des prisons, que tout ce qui tient au régime soit réglé avec prévoyance, il faut en outre que la disposition des bâtiments favorise l'exercice de la discipline intérieure, et à cet égard on doit faire remarquer que c'est aux gens de l'art à traiter cette matière sous le rapport de la distribution' - and lest there be any doubt as to his intentions, he added - 'cette prison conserve encore toute sa supériorité sur les compositions anglaises, où à force d'exigence, on est parvenu à mal faire; à cet égard on pourrait dire que les Anglais portent dans tous leurs ouvrages le génie de la mécanique, qui s'est perfectionnée parmi eux, et qu'ils ont voulu que leurs bâtimens fonctionassent comme une machine soumise à l'action d'un seul moteur'.

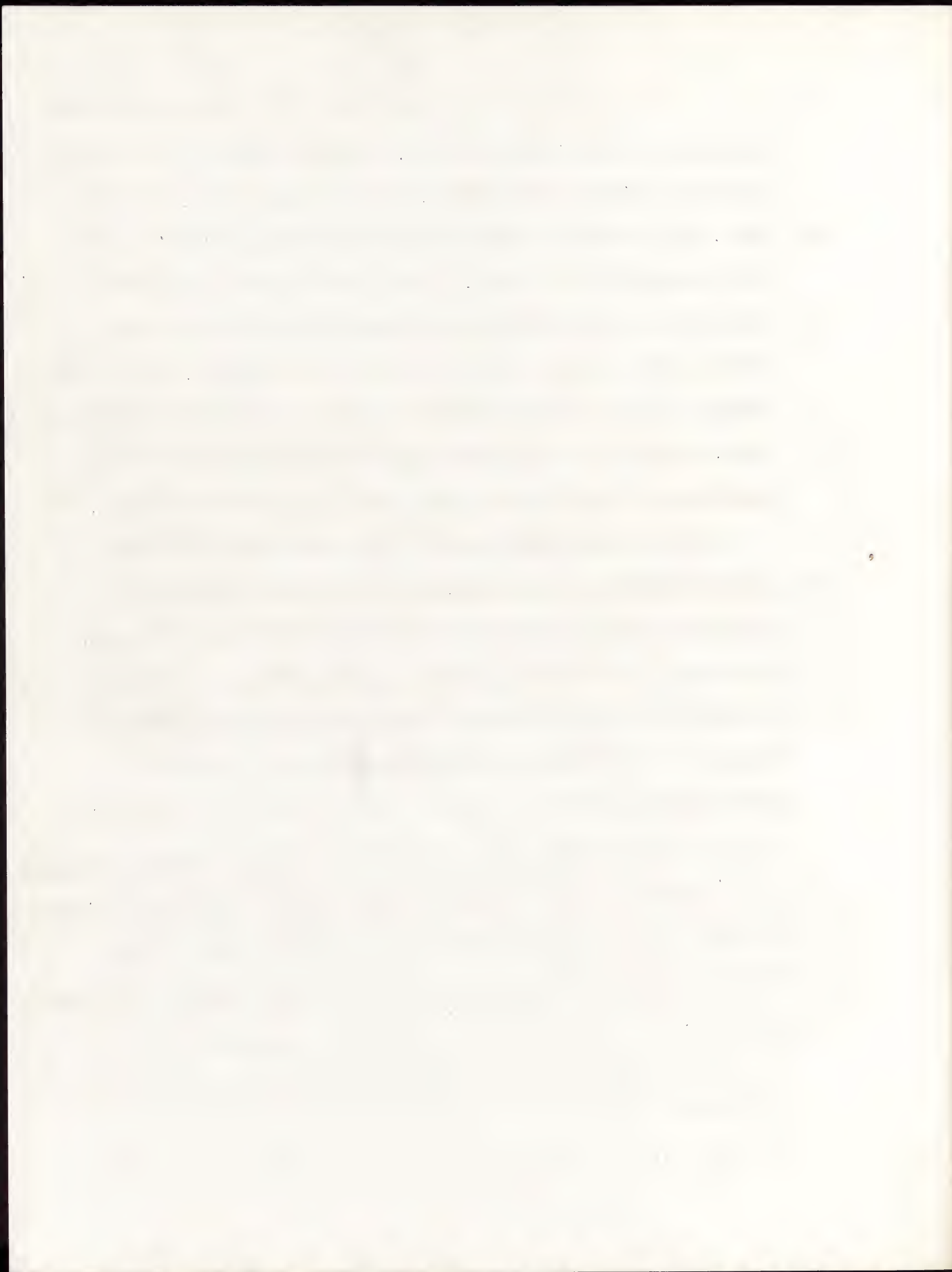
But by this time prison architecture in France was passing into the hands of more thoughtful and practical men, who turned their attention no longer to England but to America, where expedient and quite unexpected solutions to the problems of prison design were being reached - in Auburn and Sing-Sing new penitentiaries were complete; at Wethersfield, Charlestown, Washington, Richmond and Cherry Hill, outside Philadelphia, others were finishing. within a few years John Haviland would begin his greatest radially planned prison, that at Trenton, New Jersey. In 1828 and 1830 J. M. C. Lucas published the two volumes of his 'Du Système Pénitenciaire en Europe et aux Etats Unis' - in which he viciously attacked the



the design of Lebas's model prison. In 1830 he was appointed
'Inspecteur Général des Prisons'. In that same year G. de Beaumont
503 and A. de Tocqueville were sent by the Ministre de l'Intérieur to
study the prisons of America. Six years later the justice Demetz and
504 Abel Blouet were entrusted with a similar mission, and Gilbert, at
the same time, commissioned to design the Prison Mazas. The great
period of prison reform was thus initiated and architecture, thence-
forth, reflected more and more faithfully the doctrines and ideas
that radical thinkers had already embodied in their legislation.

The progressive improvement of asylums ran closely parallel to
505 this movement of prison reform, and it was scarcely co-incidental
that those architects employed to build prisons, planned asylums.
The reforms that Esquirol and Desportes recommended from the beginning
of the Restoration onwards were interpreted - albeit unsatisfactorily -
in the Nouveau Bicêtre, begun in 1819 by Hippolyte Lebas, but not
built until the 1830's when F. C. Gau took charge of the work - in
the Asile de St. Yon at Rouen, designed in 1821 by Jouannin; and
in the Hospice d'Aliénés at Marseilles, planned in 1823 by Mr. R.
Penchaud, begun ten years later. The first really convincing
expression of Esquirol's ideas, however, was Gilbert's Asile de
Charenton.

Gilbert's importance from an humanitarian point of view was
thus immense. His achievements as an architect are less readily
recognisable. His buildings are austere and uncharming but they



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have a sap and savour that other buildings of the period often lack. His Asile de Charenton is undeniably monumental in the best possible sense. And many of his contemporaries appreciated its qualities and were prepared to follow the path that Gilbert indicated. They tried not only to make their buildings more expressive of readily defined human requirements, but to relate them more closely to technical possibilities and limitations - they tried to prolong the tradition of the Ecole Polytechnique. Blouet fittingly published a supplement to the 'Traité de l'art de bâtir' in 1847, in which he attempted to outline once again Rondelet's theories. No designer
506 should ever forget, Blouet wrote, 'que le meilleur emploi des matériaux produit les meilleures formes; que les formes qui répondent le mieux au besoin résultent de l'application des meilleurs moyens de construction sont aussi celles qui impriment à l'édifice qu'elles constituent le caractère qui lui convient le mieux, et qu'elles sont, conséquemment, les plus favorables à sa décoration'.

The other members of that band of architectural reformers already mentioned - Felix Duban (1797 - 1870), Henri Labrouste (1801 - 1875), Louis Duc (1802 - 1879) and Léon Vaudoyer (1803 - 1872) - were deeply influenced by Gilbert, but they were more obviously successful in infusing the tradition of the Ecole Polytechnique into that of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. They created an architecture that was



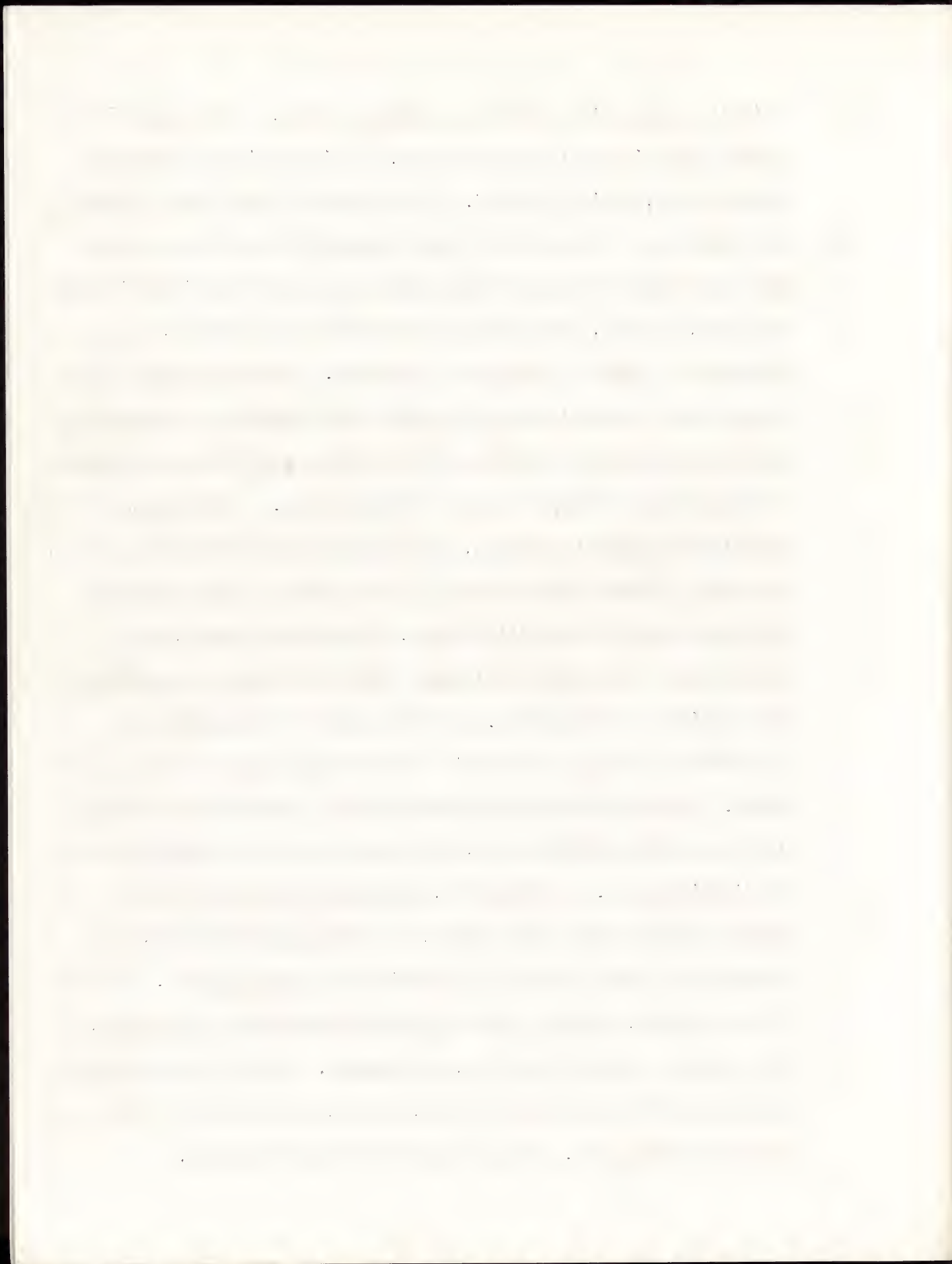
at once studiously classical and more likeable. They were all Grand Prix winners, starting with Duban, who travelled to Rome in 1823, and continuing through successive years to Vaudoyer, who won the prize in 1826. In Rome some of these young men found Hittorff and Blouet; they all met Gilbert there and fell at once under his spell. But they formed a group by themselves; a close-knit circle of friends always ready to help one another and, more remarkable still, always ready to be helped by one another. Yet both in
507 temperament and upbringing they were different. Duban was the son of a business-man. He studied at the Ecole Napoléon and when he left in 1813, at the age of sixteen, he thought to become a writer. He turned to architecture only because his elder sister had married Debret who, two years later, offered him a position in his office. Within a few months Duban had enrolled at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he studied under Percier.

Duban was an idealist of Lamartine's creating. He was excessively sensitive, moody and melancholy; though he could be
508 charming enough when he pleased - 'il avait', Boulé recalled, 'un accueil qui ressemblait à la coquetterie'. And he was by nature tender and feminine - often embarrassingly so, for he would indulge in displays of ecstasy over flowers and pretty things. But he was not effeminate. Yet his drawings, and later his buildings, are
509 marked by an exquisite and delicate richness of style - 'Duban', Charles Blanc declared, 'par son tempérament, par son caractère



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n'était pas ce qu'on pourrait appeler un dorien. Son esprit était plutôt façonné dans le moule ionique. Il était né pour avoir un talent riche, orné et fleuri'. He delighted in the rich incident
510 and intricacy of Etruscan and Roman decorations and combined them in vast imaginative compositions of his own - 'Le Tibre' and 'l'Arno' - and when, in 1826, Labrousse and Duc travelled to Paestum, he lingered in Pompeii to record her fantasias. Yet he was imbued with enough pure classical spirit to prefer the buildings of Bramante to those of Palladio and Vignola and certainly admired the great palaces of Renaissance Florence far above those of Rome. Duban was, moreover, despite his excessive shyness, not averse to expressing his opinions. At Rome he opposed the teachings of the Academy in all things and his final study at the Villa Medici, a Protestant Temple, was intended as a calculated challenge to the reactionary royalists in the Académie des Beaux Arts. On his return to Paris, Duban was asked to take charge of Blouet's studio during the expedition to the Morea. In 1831 he was made a member of the commission of enquiry into the Ecole des Beaux Arts, instituted by the protestant Ministre de l'Intérieur, M. de Montalivet, whose prime purpose it was to separate those three institutions, the Ecole des Beaux Arts, the Académie des Beaux Arts and the Académie de France at Rome. Quatre-
mère de Quincy, however, offered enough assurances to be allowed, for the time being at any rate, his own way. In the following year Duban succeeded his brother-in-law, Debret, as architect to the Ecole des Beaux Arts. He also took over Debret's studio.



511 Many of Duban's friends were Hittorff's friends - indeed,
Duban's last design was a monument dedicated to Ingres - and Duban
was profoundly affected by Hittorff's work. But Duban succeeded where
Hittorff failed. Duban did not decorate his constructions; he
constructed décors rather. Even the over-dressed building that he
put up soon after his return from Rome in the court of the Ecole des
Beaux Arts off the rue Bonaparte, is a harmonious composition. The
surface modulations and structural forms are related with conviction.
For Duban was a builder of skill. He could manipulate iron as well
as anyone else, and was not averse to expressing his structural
512 system. All his buildings at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and in
particular the late studio on the Quai Malaquais, are alive with
exposed iron beams - (the more spectacular iron and glass covered
513 court in the early building, however, though demonstrably based on an
idea that he put forward in 1863, is the work of E. Coquart, who
began the construction in 1871.) It was this peculiar combination
of decorative talent and unassuming structural skill that appealed
to his contemporaries and profoundly affected them. Fittingly,
Charles Garnier, that shrewdest of nineteenth century architects,
514 wrote, - 'M. Duban est un maître, est un maître dans la plus large
acception du mot, c'est le créateur d'une voie nouvelle'.

Next to Duban, but with a many-feet-thick wall between them, in
515 the nineteenth century choice of aesthetic idols, came Henri Labrouste.
Even today he is regarded as an architect of distinction; and his two
important buildings, the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève and the



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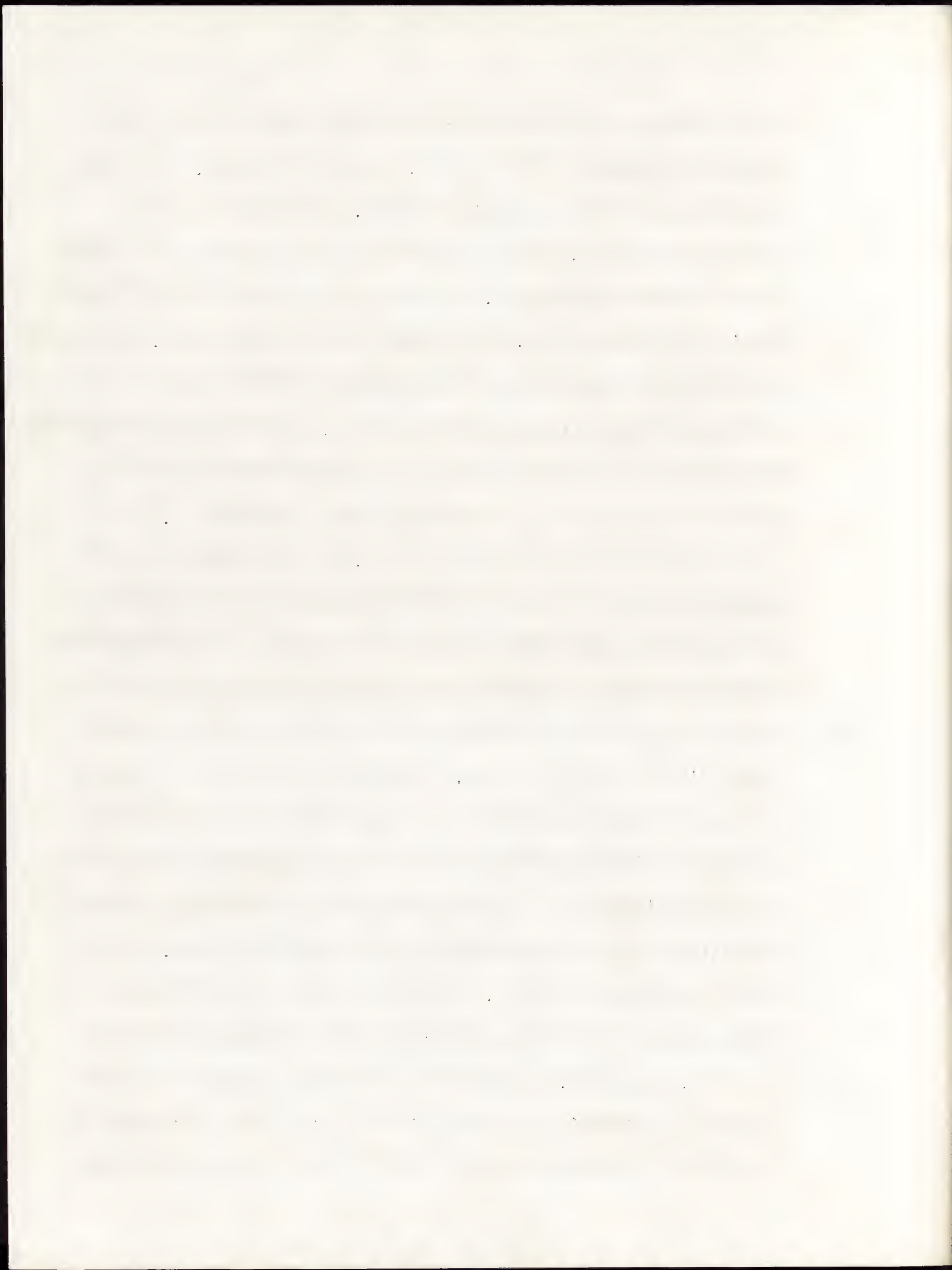
Bibliothèque Nationale, recognised as perfect works of their kind; serenely classical and poised. He himself was an unassuming, reflective man; dignified and perhaps slightly aloof with an unconscious air of assumption. He was a man of firm convictions.

Indeed, the curious point about his character was its early completeness. Already in his boyish days his judgement was unerring, his aims determined and his powers developed. He was, to his young contemporaries, rather a formidable person. The fourth son of an administrator, he went, like his brother Théodore Labrousse (1799 - 1835) - who also became an architect - to the College Sainte Barbe. At the age of eighteen he entered the studio of Hippolyte Lebas and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, where he studied under A. L. T. Vaudoyer. In 1824 he won the Grand Prix - his brother won it three years later - and on November 24th he left Paris, travelling through the Savoie, over the pass of Moncenisio, to Turin, Milan and Bologna and thence to Florence. From Florence he made the customary dash to Pisa to see the leaning tower, and continued on his journey through Sienna, Arezzo, Perugia, Assisi, Orvieto, and Viterbo, to arrive in Rome on January 5, 1825, seven weeks after his departure from Paris. His folio was filled with beautiful drawings, precise and unfailingly correct yet marvellously sensitive - 'ce qu'on m'appris', he said, 'c'est bien, mais ce que je comprendrai et sentirai devant les édifices, c'est mieux'.

In Rome he worked, as often as not, alone. Yet he travelled with



his friends on excursions to Tivoli and Tarquinia; and in 1826 left with Duban and Duc for Naples, Pompeii and Paestum. Two years later he travelled south again with Duc, and embarked on this occasion for Sicily, where he drew the Doric and Norman buildings alike with infinite pleasure. He chose as the subject of his last
520 year's restoration study, the temple of Neptune at Paestum. His twenty-six drawings were probably the first studies made conscientiously by a French Grand Prix winner, not to exhibit his own skill or make capital out of his subject but to give a true portraiture and account of a building of historical interest. He added colour to his friezes and metopes, and suggested internal frescoes similar to those in the tombs at Corneto; he proposed to paint the exposed roof trusses of his sanctuary in imitation of those at Monreale; but he acted in all this with tact and
521 discretion - and self-consciously and with much argument rejected Hittorff's more audacious idea. His measurements of the existing ruins were faithful and laborious beyond any outlines from antiquity that the Académie des Beaux Arts had ever seen; they revealed Delagardette's restorations of the temples of Paestum to be simple, formalized affairs - barely approximate in their accuracy. Quatremère de Quincy was incensed. He regarded the result of Labrouste's stubborn industry and acute observation as a work of calculated
522 impudence. He wrote, in 1829, to Horace Vernet, newly appointed Directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome - 'La section d'architecture



et l'Académie, en général, sont frappées du danger au'il y a, au
temps où nous sommes, d'ouvrir la voie aux innovations'. Vernet,
in turn, was roused. A celebrated and angry quarrel ensued,
523 during which Vernet behaved with slightly less dignity and certainly
less discretion than his position demanded. He travelled to Paestum
himself to verify Labrouste's measurements and made known to Labrouste
the contents of Quatremère de Quincy's confidential reports - very
different indeed from his smooth and unctuous Academic pronouncements.
But Vernet was triumphant. When, in 1829, Labrouste arrived in
Paris, he was acclaimed by the young as the apostle of truth. In
official circles he was less well received. For almost fifteen
years he was given no great commission, and had to content himself
with designing decorations for the fêtes of July and embellishments
for the Pont de la Concorde - studies into which he poured far too
much of his energy. In 1832 he became Duban's inspector at the
Ecole des Beaux Arts, in 1838 Gilbert's at the Asile de Charenton.
But he steadily promoted his own authority in the ensuing years,
writing short brisk articles for the Journal des Débats and, later,
524 the Revue Générale de l'Architecture, and, in particular, through
his work in teaching. In August 1830 he opened his studio. His
525 first pupils were Carville, Dupuis, Dumesnil, Famin, Grélerin,
526 Klotz, Lassus and Marcel - 'je veux leur apprendre', he wrote to
his brother, Théodore, on November 20, 1830, 'à composer avec des
moyens très simples. Il faut d'abord qu'ils voient clairement la
destination de leur oeuvre, qu'ils en disposent les parties selon



l'importance qu'il est raisonnable de leur donner. Puis je leur explique que la solidité dépend plus de la combinaison des matériaux que de leur masse, et, dès qu'ils connaissent les premiers principes de construction, je leur dis qu'ils doivent tirer de la construction elle même une ornementation raisonnée, expressive. Je leur répète souvent que les arts ont le pouvoir d'embellir toute chose: mais j'insiste pour qu'ils comprennent que la forme, en architecture, doit toujours être appropriée à la fonction qu'on lui destine.'

527 'La forme', he said more simply, years later, 'doit toujours être appropriée à sa fonction et subordonnée aux matériaux de construction' - and it was with a consistent and never failing or faltering loyalty to these ideas that he taught for more than twenty-five years. Seventy-eight architects emerged from his studio, among them Anatole de Baudot, Emile Boeswillwald, J. Gaudet, J. B. A. Lassus, E. Lheureux, Juste Lisch, and Eugene Millet - many of whom interpreted his lucid, rational doctrine as an apology for a Gothic Revival; and it is certainly not without significance that Viollet-le-Duc took over a part of Labrouste's studio when it was closed in May 1857. Labrouste's thought was so objective that it was susceptible of many, entirely personal, though rational interpretations. It is not thus alone Labrouste's re-emphasis of the rational ideals of those late eighteenth century thinkers, Rondelet and Durand, that makes his contribution to the history of French nineteenth century architecture so important, as the convincing way in which he himself interpreted



these ideas to create an architecture of beautiful sobriety and elegance.

528 His buildings are superbly classical - 'un édifice', he said, 'doit être et paraître bien portant'. Not that he did not lapse, often, in his attempts to create an original ornamental vocabulary. Many of his decorative details in the Bibliothèque Nationale and, in particular, those of the entrance vestibule, are of an ungainliness equalled only by William Butterfield in England. Both men had a feeling for staccato effects. Yet one cannot but praise Labrouste's originality; he refused to borrow his decorative details from the past - though the effect of his finer work is always Grecian. Certainly he was not an eclectic. He was not fond of Gothic architecture. He disliked the buildings of seventeenth and eighteenth century France to the extent of refusing to go to Versailles. At the Bibliothèque Nationale he restored the old Hôtel Turgot with a grim determination to bring Le Muet's architecture up-to-date, and he swept away Robert de Cotte's charming Cabinet de Médailles without a qualm.

To many of his critics and even to his greatest admirers, Labrouste's
529 doctrine was not without its defects - 'A force d'attacher une arrière pensée aux moindres combinaisons', wrote Henri Delaborde, Secrétaire perpétuelle de l'Académie des Beaux Arts, in 1878, 'et de prétendre condenser le sens de toutes choses, on en est venu à faire parler à la pierre un langage à peu près énigmatique; ou bien en voulant trop systématiquement réduire les formes architectoniques au strict nécessaire, on n'a exprimé, au lieu de la correction, que la sécheresse, au lieu



d'intentions simples, que le pédantisme de la simplicité' - yet Delaborde admired the amazing stack room of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

530 Next to Labrouste Duc seems at first an architect of the most curious, consolidating, not to say reactionary, kind. Yet as a young man he was active and advanced enough in Labrouste's sort of way. Conservatism came later, but it came quickly as his ideas of architectural symbolism developed.

The son of a swordsmith and damascener, he was brought up to aspire to a life of more respectable accomplishment. In 1821, at the age of nineteen he entered the Ecole des Beaux Arts. He worked there under Percier, his external master was Chatillon. Within four years he had won the Grand Prix and travelled to Rome, where he found Duban and Labrouste, and determined with them to undertake a more painstaking investigation of the ruins of antiquity - to see them anew with the eyes of the nineteenth century. He chose, surprisingly enough, as his major restoration study, the Colosseum - surprisingly enough, because Duc, like Duban, had a taste for delicate detail and richness in all things. He was over-fastidious. He dressed with a stylish and slightly ludicrous elegance. His favourite composers were Chopin and Liszt, and he adored their works
531 as he adored all music - 'le moins désagréable', he said, 'de tous les bruits'. He composed the music himself to be played at his



funeral. He was charming and witty; his subtle, inevitable, unmalicious sarcasm giving a constantly natural and therefore in-offensive, air of hauteur to his delicate features. He could do what he liked with anyone - at least with anyone of good humour and sympathy.

Duc was lionized in the nineteenth century. In 1839 he won the Prix de 100,000 francs - awarded only once. He was made a member of innumerable Academies in Europe and sat on many committees. He was constantly praised for the refinement of style of his Colonne de Juillet, on the Place de la Bastille, designed in conjunction with Alavoine in 1831, finished nine years later. He was acclaimed for his Palais de Justice, started in 1842 with Donmey, continued with Daumet and finished in 1870, only to be rebuilt after its burning in the following year. Yet today Duc's works seem distastefully modest and complacent. The distinction so much admired by his contemporaries seems to consist in a facility for reducing his staggeringly eclectic tastes to a pattern of prim rectitude - basically Greek in its inspiration. The facade of the Salle des Pas Perdus was, on his own admission, derived from the temple of Dendera in Egypt - 'une architecture primordiale, hiératique, éternelle comme un type' - an ineffable symbol, he imagined, of justice. His details he took from that of Stratonike, while his explanation of his system of flat-relieving arches resting on piers to which he engaged giant fluted columns is equivocal, to say the least. The orders, he declared, ^{years later} were vital to architecture - 'au moyen âge même, les ordres



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étaient incorporés aux piliers, d'abord sur leurs faces principales, puis sur les angles et aux points qui indiquaient un effort de portée. C'était la condition de la beauté de ces monuments, malgré les sacrifices de toutes proportions dans les ordres. Sans ces derniers vestiges d'essence poétique il ne pouvait rester que des masses de matière inerte' - and if all this might seem to strike a false note in the rational atmosphere that the young reformers created, worse was to follow - 'la fiction', Duc wrote, 'devait occuper la première place dans l'architecture, et qu'elle en était l'essence. Le temple grec n'était il pas une légende de pierre? Tous les membres qui le composaient étaient autant d'objets naturels qui, par leur traduction devenaient autant de fictions ou de mensonges. C'est de cette opération mystérieuse de création entre la nature et le coeur de l'homme que l'art était né. C'est cette incorporation de la nature avec la matière, oeuvre presque divine, qui était tout le dogme de l'architecture; le reste appartenait à la terre, le reste n'était que de la construction'.

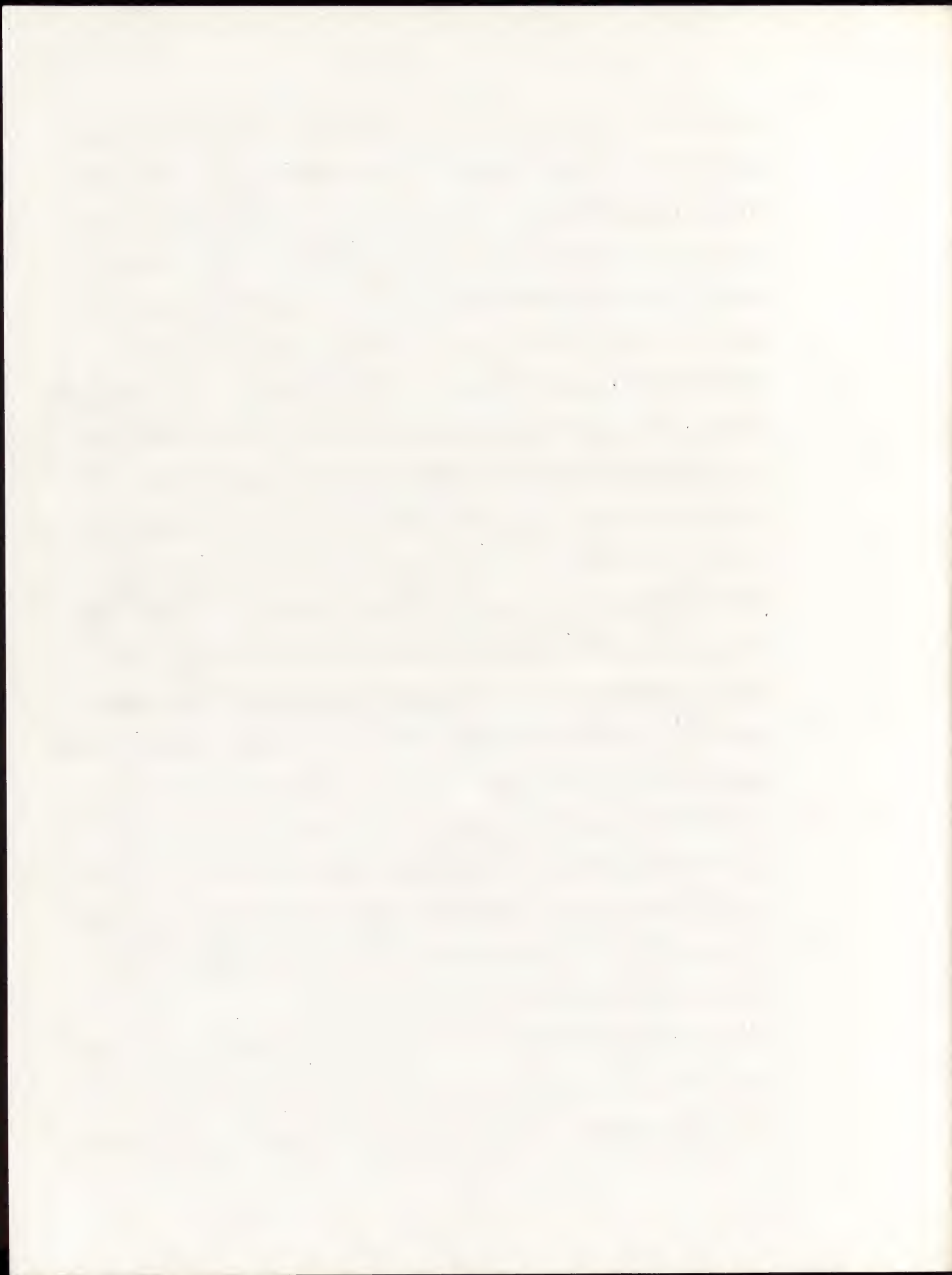
Even accounting for a certain irony of intention, this statement is a measure of how far the rationalism of the Ecole Polytechnique thinkers could be distorted, inverted and turned inside out until it was barely recognisable. Yet Duc was
538 lavishly praised by many who thought to continue that tradition, and by Viollet-le-Duc himself.



539 Léon Vaudoyer was, by contrast, a thinker of a more familiar
540 type - 'il était d'une logique inflexible', wrote Duc, 'et, sévère
sur ses principes, il caressait rarement les écarts de la fantaisie'.
The son of the architect A. L. T. Vaudoyer, he went, like Labrouste,
to the College Sainte Barbe. Naturally of high ability and
activity, he did all he chose with ease - neither had difficulty
in mastering Latin, nor anxiety in examination. At the age of
sixteen, in 1819, he entered - again like Labrouste - the studio of
Lebas (to whom he was distantly related) and enrolled at the Ecole
des Beaux Arts, where he worked under his father. Six years later
541 he won a competition for a design for a tomb for General Foy - an
aedicular affair, with baseless Doric columns supporting an entab-
lature and pediment, under which there was to be placed a somewhat
absurd statue of the general - 'à la Grecque' - by David d'Angera.
In the following year Vaudoyer won the Grand Prix de Rome with a
542 design for a 'Palais pour l'Ambassadeur de France à Rome' - a pleasant
and open Italianate building, far removed in spirit from the pompous
Opera-house that Gilbert had submitted four years before. In Rome
Vaudoyer acted in much the same manner as his companions, sketching
in the campagna, measuring up Roman ruins. He chose as the subject
of his main restoration study, the temple of Venus; which he
enlivened naturally enough with touches of colour and gilt. But
what distinguishes him from most of his fellow students - though
certainly not Labrouste - is the early objectivity with which he



surveyed his architectural state and the lucidity with which he expressed his ideas - 'Je pense, comme vous', he wrote on May 28, 1831, to Lebas, 'qu'il est naturel à une génération de chercher à faire autrement que celle qui l'a précédé et que souvent ce besoin d'innovation tourne au détriment du bien, car pour faire autrement il suffit de faire plus mal, ce qui est plus aisé que de faire mieux. C'est cette manie qui soumet tout à un caprice de mode, qui déploie sans cesse les idées et qui fait que les vrais principes se perdent quelquefois jusqu'à ce que les hommes de génie reviennent se placer à certaines distances, comme des jalons qui empêchent de s'écarter de la vraie route'. Percier, he declared, was one of these staffs - 'on croyait', he continued, 'qu'il avait trouvé le vrai bien, mais il est introuvable. Les idées ont changé, est arrivé le système constitutionnel qui nous a apporté l'esprit d'examen, de raisonnement et d'économie. On a pensé alors qu'il ne suffisait pas d'avoir un excellent goût d'arrangement, d'ajuster parfaitement les ornements ou de dessiner à la perfection, de surcharger les monuments de figures et de bas-reliefs pour faire de l'architecture. Voilà pourtant où l'école était arrivée il y a quelques années et ce système était exagéré par les moins capables. Il est donc évident qu'on commençait à s'égarer, que l'exagération et le mauvais côté d'une architecture créée pour d'autres besoins faisaient oublier les principes invariables, soit de raison, soit de solidité, soit même de convenances, ce mal devait avoir son terme et je crois qu'il



l'a atteint et qu'on est arrivé à comprendre que ces institutions politiques et sociales veulent une architecture sage, raisonnée, d'une exécution facile, simple, économique. Je ne me charge pas de décider si c'est un bien ou un mal, mais je crois cependant qu'il y a autant de mérite dans les monuments de la République romaine que dans ceux du temps de Trajan, que ce n'est pas la richesse des matières ni l'immensité des monuments qui constituent la véritable beauté, mais bien une juste idée de convenance, des besoins de l'époque et enfin la noblesse des formes et une expression de caractère approprié à chaque chose. Le temple de la Paix, de briques et de stuc, est un chef-d'œuvre qui ne le cède en rien aux plus riches monuments de marbre. Je crois donc que pour arriver à satisfaire aux besoins de notre époque, il faut de préférence étudier l'architecture radicale des anciens, c'est à dire celle qui eut à satisfaire des usages primitifs et non encore corrompus par le luxe - or, quelle est donc cette architecture qu'on appelle Romantique, je ne sais pourquoi? C'est

544 une architecture qui veut remonter aux vrais principes, qui veut que toute forme soit donnée par la raison et le besoin, qui veut se soumettre à la nature des matériaux, qui veut enfin, mettre cet art en harmonie avec le siècle'.

But Vaudoyer did not fulfil this bright promise. He returned to France more critical and cynical than enthusiastic. He had little wish to build. He sought neither clients nor commissions;



nor would he accept those that offered. He taught in Lebas's studio and worked with Lebas on the construction of the prison in the rue Roquette, but passed his time chiefly with idle distractions and travel. He went to Germany and England, to Spain and even to
545 Algeria. Not until 1845 did he begin work on the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers - a vast and unlovely agglomeration of buildings, mainly of a dry classical style, started six years before by his father. The great cathedral of Marseilles, for which he is most
546 well remembered, was not started before 1852 - it appears a monument to grim determination rather than joy. That all-too-severe logic with which he had succeeded in rejecting the epithet 'romantique' many years before served here to render the splendour of Byzantine architecture itself awkward and jagged.

The very differences of those four men - Duban, Labrouste, Duc and Vaudoyer - who set the pattern of nineteenth century
547 architecture, served to unite them - 'Nous les retrouverons', wrote Bailly, 'presque toujours les uns à côté des autres, soit dans les commissions, soit dans divers concours, et même comme rivaux, sans que leur amitié s'en soit jamais ressentie'. Labrouste, as we have seen, worked for Duban. Duban and Duc together trans-
548 formed the Hôtel de Roquelaure as the Ministère des Travaux Publics. Duban, Duc and Vaudoyer designed the interior of Madame Lelong's
549 house in the rue de Courcelles. In 1837 all four were commissioned



to prepare an album of ten fine-finished drawings of the buildings
550 erected and projected in Paris during the reign of Louis Philippe -
a gift from the Duc d'Orléans to the Prince of Prussia. But if
Duban, Labrousse, Duc and Vaudoyer were united it was chiefly
in their consciousness of being potential innovators - they
never formed a recognisable school of thought. Their ideas
were even opposed and their ambitions as they themselves recog-
nised, different. Duban, Duc and Vaudoyer liked to recall later
in life, an incident, seemingly small and trivial, and stimulated
by wine, that occurred at Ronciglione, near Orvieto, in 1827 - an
incident during which their friendship was sworn and their
551 ambitions unfolded - 'Duc', Charles Blanc reports, 'entrevoyait
des horizons magnifiques, il pressentait une rénovation de
l'architecture et il s'abandonnait aux illusions de bel âge.
Vaudoyer, homme de sens critique et de sens pratique, Gaulois
spirituel et avisé, pour n'être pas d'ailleurs du même avis que
son ami Duc, Vaudoyer se raillait de lui et traitait de chimères
ses aspirations. Il prévoyait qu'à la poésie de rêve succéderait
la prose des réalités, et qu'il faudrait bientôt descendre de
portique d'Octavie au mar mitoyen. Duban était juge des coups,
552 mais il inclinait vers le poète' Duban himself recalled the
occasion in two architectural allegories - one drawing shows a
pretty Pompeian capriccio with foliage and flowers; the other
presents a staid architectural interior, with simplified pilasters



and heroic paintings and in the centre of the room an antique vase with the inscription 'Ronsiglionenses Illusiones: Amico Vaudoyer, ne sit inmemor'.

Their friendship changed thus only to deepen; but their individual outlooks in architectural matters became steadily opposed and became more contradictory yet in the hands of their pupils and successors - Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc attempting, as we shall see, to combine the logic of Labrouste's doctrines with the romantic predilections of his age. It is, therefore, to the history of the romantic liking for Gothic that we must now turn.



NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. There are numerous short accounts of Blondel's life and work, but they tend to contradict one another on elementary facts and on questions of dates to a rather remarkable degree: a reliable study is lacking. Even Thieme Becker's 'Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler' is incomplete and confusing in its account of Jacques François Blondel and Jean François Blondel together. The short entry in the 'Biographie Universelle' new edition, Paris 1843, is almost to be preferred as a reference.

The most useful works on Blondel are:

August Prost, 'J.F. Blondel et son oeuvre', Metz, 1860 - an interesting but slight account, which yet remains the only attempt at a complete study of Blondel.

Fiske Kimball, 'Le Style Louis XV, origine et évolution du rococo', Paris, 1949, p. 215 - 225 - as can be imagined this is an excellent but irritatingly brief attempt to set Blondel against the background of mid-18th century events.

Eril Kaufmann, 'Three Revolutionary architects, Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeux', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 42, part 3, Philadelphia, 1952, p. 436 - 446. This is the most ambitious analysis of Blondel's teachings that I know, but while valuable it is inclined to be partial in its interpretations and turgid in its style.

Eril Kaufmann, 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1955, p. 131 - 133 - a revised but nonetheless unsound review of Blondel's ideas.

Louis Hautecœur, 'Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France', Paris 1950, Vol. III, p. 466 - 472, 598 - 604, in particular, though there are references to Blondel throughout this volume, and in the following one as well. Hautecœur is surprisingly irresponsible, as I shall later show, in his account of Blondel's ecclesiastical works and projects. P. 599 and p. 600 of volume III are not to be trusted.

W. Knight Sturges, 'Jacques François Blondel' in the 'Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians', Vol. XI, No. 1, March, 1952, p. 16 ff - a good but short article.



1. (continued)

R. Denis, 'L'oeuvre des architectes de l'Ecole Française du milieu du XVII^e siècle à nos jours', Dornach, 1922 - the catalogue of an exhibition of drawings and models held in Strasbourg in 1922, it contains several illustrations of Blondel's buildings. p. 24 - 25, 55.

2. cf. 'Cours d'Architecture' by Jacques François Blondel, Vol. IV, Paris 1773, Lxxiv - civ, for a description of the programmes given in the school; Vol. III, p. Lxxi - xc for an account of the lessons.

cf. also J.F. Blondel 'Discours sur la manière d'étudier l'architecture etc.', Paris, 1747, and 'Discours sur la nécessité de l'architecture', Paris, 1754.

- 2a. Cours III, Lxxii, footnote.

3. Blondel's most important publications are:

('De la Distribution des Maisons de plaisance', Paris, 1737-38 in two volumes.

'Architecture Française, ou Recueil des plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, maisons royales etc.' Paris, 1752-56 in four volumes. The work is incomplete.

'Cours d'Architecture', Paris, 1771-1777 in 12 volumes.

The last part of the work is by Pierre Ratte.

4. 'Cours' V. vii.

5. 'Cours' IV 315.

6. 'De la distribution op. cit.' Vol. I, p. xii.

7. 'Architecture Française' op. cit.' Vol. I, p. 7.

8. 'Cours' I 28. cf. also I 85, 454, IV xiv.

9. 'Cours' III, 159 - 'Il est vrai que depuis quelques années l'art a beaucoup gagné; il est certain qu'aujourd'hui nos jeunes architectes sont plus sévères dans les dehors de leurs façades, et que pour atteindre à la perfection en ce genre, il ne leur manque que d'user d'un peu plus de retenue et d'assortir avec plus de circonspection les membres d'architecture dont sont composées les ouvertures de nos



9. (continued)

façades,' but in the 'Cours' II 94 he wrote with reference to a design for a portico in front of a church - 'Nous savons bien que nos jeunes architectes préféreraient une table dans toute la longueur, qu'ils ne mettraient point de pilastre sur le mu du mur, en face des colonnes, qu'ils placeraient dans les soixante-deux pieds qui contiennent la largeur de ce frontispice, cinq entrecolonnements au lieu de trois, et que moyennant ces arrangements, ces mêmes entrecolonnements devenus très serrés, laisseraient à peine voir les chambranles de la porte et des niches: nous savons tout cela; mais nous n'avons garde d'être de leur avis. Ces imitations Romaines ne sont plus de notre temps. Nous leur conseillerions bien plutôt de faire revivre les procédés qu'ont suivis les Mansard et les Perrault, qui connaissent tout aussi bien l'Italie qu'eux; mais qui, avec la prudence et les lumières dont ils étaient pénétrés, en suivant les routes des anciens, n'en ont pas moins créé un genre d'Architecture qui nous appartient, qui est à nous, et que nous n'avons négligé pendant un laps de temps assez considérable, que faute de grandes occasions et quelquefois par l'indifférence de plusieurs pour nos découvertes ou l'incertitude de quelques autres, qui las d'imiter leurs prédécesseurs, croient innover en érigeant au milieu de Paris la charge des productions de la nouvelle Rome, qui d'ailleurs se trouvant confondus avec des ornements Arabes ou Egyptiens, ne nous offrent que des compositions bizarres et désassorties: compositions éphémères à la vérité mais qui écartent du vrai beau ceux qui, moins habiles encore, flottent entre ce qu'ils doivent imiter ou éviter, malgré les efforts que font les habiles maîtres de nos jours, pour les ramener, par leur exemple, au véritable genre de la bonne architecture. Nous le répétons, parce que nous ne pouvons trop le répéter, la plupart de nos jeunes architectes abusent de l'autorité des anciens; ils prennent bien leur manière, mais sans s'animer de leur génie, et par là ils produisent de mauvaises copies d'après d'excellents originaux: qu'ils y prennent garde, nous parlons ici à ceux mêmes qui sont déjà instruits; ce n'est pas assez pour eux d'être remplis des chefs d'oeuvre antiques; il faut en savoir faire choix; il faut les savoir appliquer à nos



9. (continued)

usages, à la température de notre climat, aux différentes qualités des matières qui nous sont offertes, enfin au vrai goût de l'art, que nos célèbres architectes Français ont créé, pour ainsi dire, sous le règne de Louis le Grand. Mais, nous osons le dire, il arrive tout le contraire. La plupart s'imaginent suivre les anciens et produire des choses neuves, tandis qu'ils ne nous présentent que des compositions singulières.'

He was not prepared, moreover, to accept the use of the baseless Doric column. II, 5. cf. also I, 439 - 440.

10. 'Cours' III, liv.

11. 'Cours' III, lxxv. 'Pour juger du goût, il faut bien examiner les hommes, les temps, et les circonstances. Qui croirait, par exemple, que l'architecture gothique a eu des admirateurs et que le portail de Reims a peut-être produit plus de gloire à son auteur, que le péristyle du Louvre n'en a procuré à Perrault.'

St. Peter's in Rome confirming the many excellencies of Greek and Roman architecture, seemed to Blondel superior to both. 'Cours', I, 84.

12. cf. 'Cours', I, 98 - 102, 139, 372; III, lx; IV, llii, xvii.

13. 'Cours', III, 423 - 'l'Angleterre, nous osons l'avouer, est peut-être la seule qui ait suivi de plus près le bon genre des anciens, moins jaloux de créer du neuf, que d'imiter les excellentes productions des Grecs et les beaux monuments de l'ancienne Rome, les Anglais se sont garantis de cet esprit national qui a gagné toutes les Cours; quelle différence en effet entre le Vitruve Britannique et le Vitruve Danois.'

14. 'Cours' I, 93 - 98 an account of the building of St. Paul's in London. Blondel evidently possessed Dugdale's book, and some engravings done in 1747 by Grélot. cf. 'Cours' III, 300.

15. The names of these three architects appear continually in his writings; but particular references are:

François Blondel

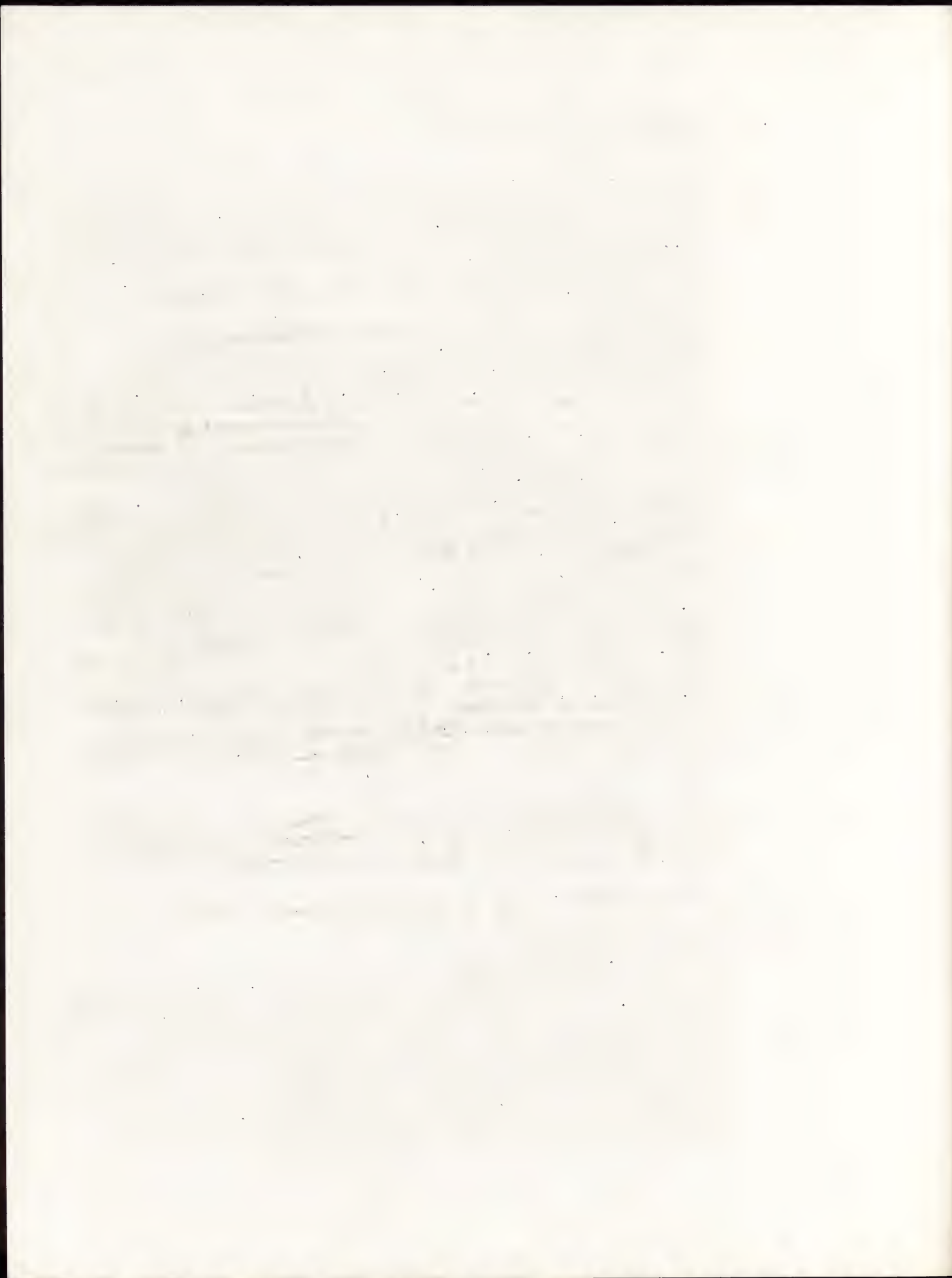
'Cours' I, 424; IV, xlvi.

Perrault

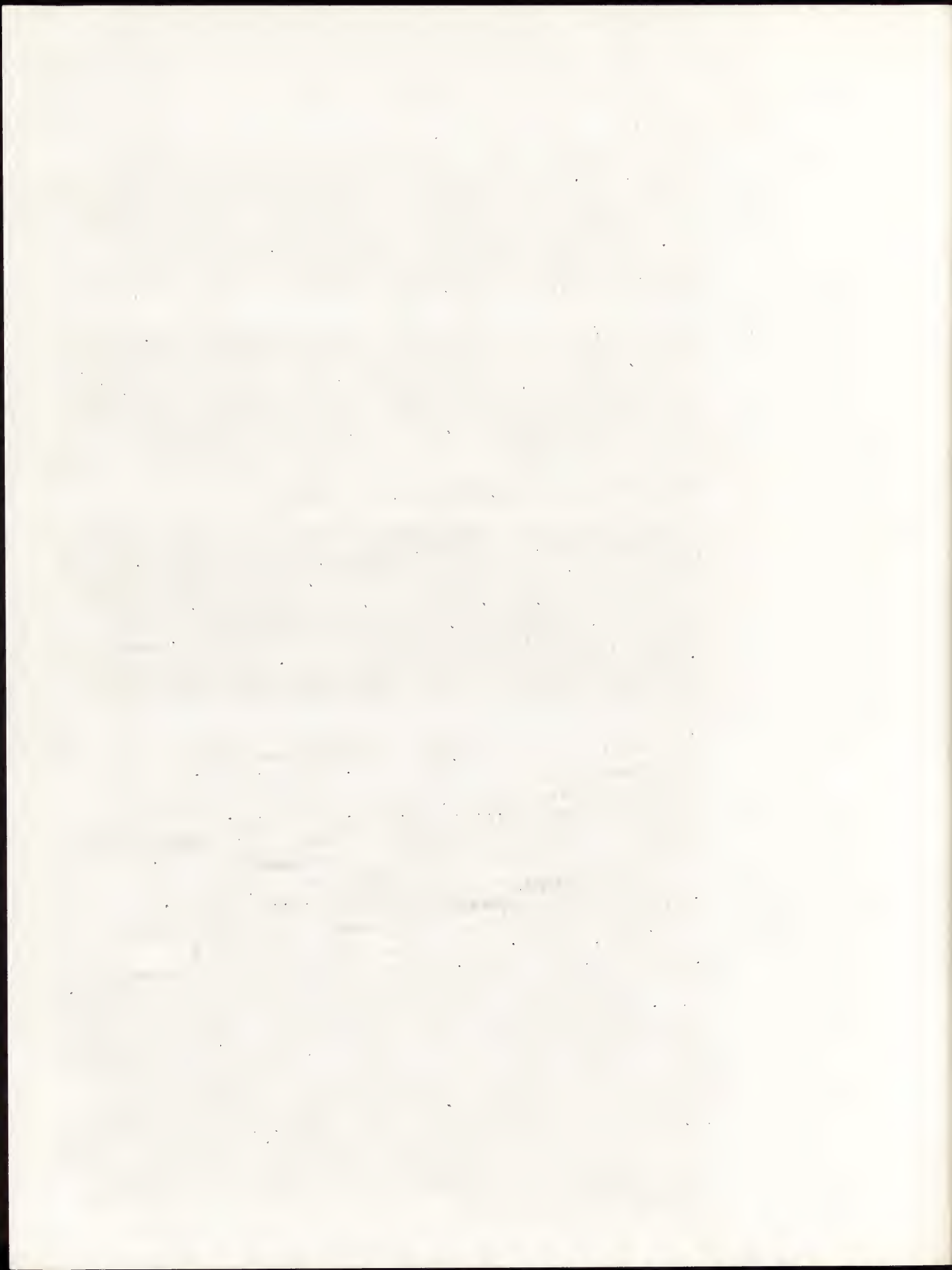
'Cours' I, 99, 130, 423, 425; II, 28, 224-5; III, 64-9; IV, xlvi.

François Mansart

'Cours' I, 101, 130; II, 220-221; III, 85 - 97; IV, lxxv, xxviii, xliii.



16. 'Cours' III, 65, footnote.
17. 'Cours', 221.
18. It is once again impossible to list the number of references to J. Hardouin Mansart and his followers, but some are of particular interest:
'Cours' I, 101, 130, 384, 431; IV, 1, 100 - 106, 331.
19. 'Cours' IV, L - 'Depuis Jules Hardouin Mansart, M. Boffrand, parmi nous, semble être celui qui ait le plus approché de son génie et peut-être, de ses incorrections, à en juger par les édifices que ce grand maître a exécutés en France et en Allemagne; mais combien ces mêmes incorrections ne sont-elles pas rachetées par l'enthousiasme qui accompagnait ses productions? Au reste nous n'entendons pas parler ici de cet enthousiasme qui tient au dérèglement de l'imagination, qui dédaigne l'art, les préceptes, le travail, mais de celui si nécessaire, dans toutes les occasions offertes à l'architecture, qu'il faut savoir attendre, qui ne se définit point, qui se sent, et qui d'accord avec le génie, est au dessus même du talent: son inévitable lot, il est vrai doit être réservé pour la décoration des théâtres et certains pièces de l'intérieur de nos appartements.'
cf. also 'Cours' I, 104 and footnote (f). Elsewhere in the 'Cours' it is evident that Blondel was much influenced by the writings of Boffrand, in particular the 'Livre d'architecture contenant les principes de cet art et les plans, élévations, profils de quelques-uns des bâtiments faits en France et dans les pays étrangers'. Paris, 1743.
20. 'De la Distribution' op. cit. Vol. I, p. xiv - even in this work he praises Boffrand and Gabriel, and demands a return to the great tradition of French architecture.
21. cf. the plates of 'De la Distribution' op. cit.
22. 'Cours' III, loc. cit.
cf. also III, 13; IV 11.
Blondel discusses the work of Germain and Meissonnier in Vol. III, p. 349 - 351, speaking of their talent and decided taste for architecture; he is careful always to qualify his remarks though, as in the passage on p. 350 - 'Meissonnier avait pour principe, disait-il, de créer du neuf: semblable au Borromini, il se plaisait à être singulier dans ses compositions: cela lui réussissait quelquefois, mais en général, il n'est pas fait pour être imité.'



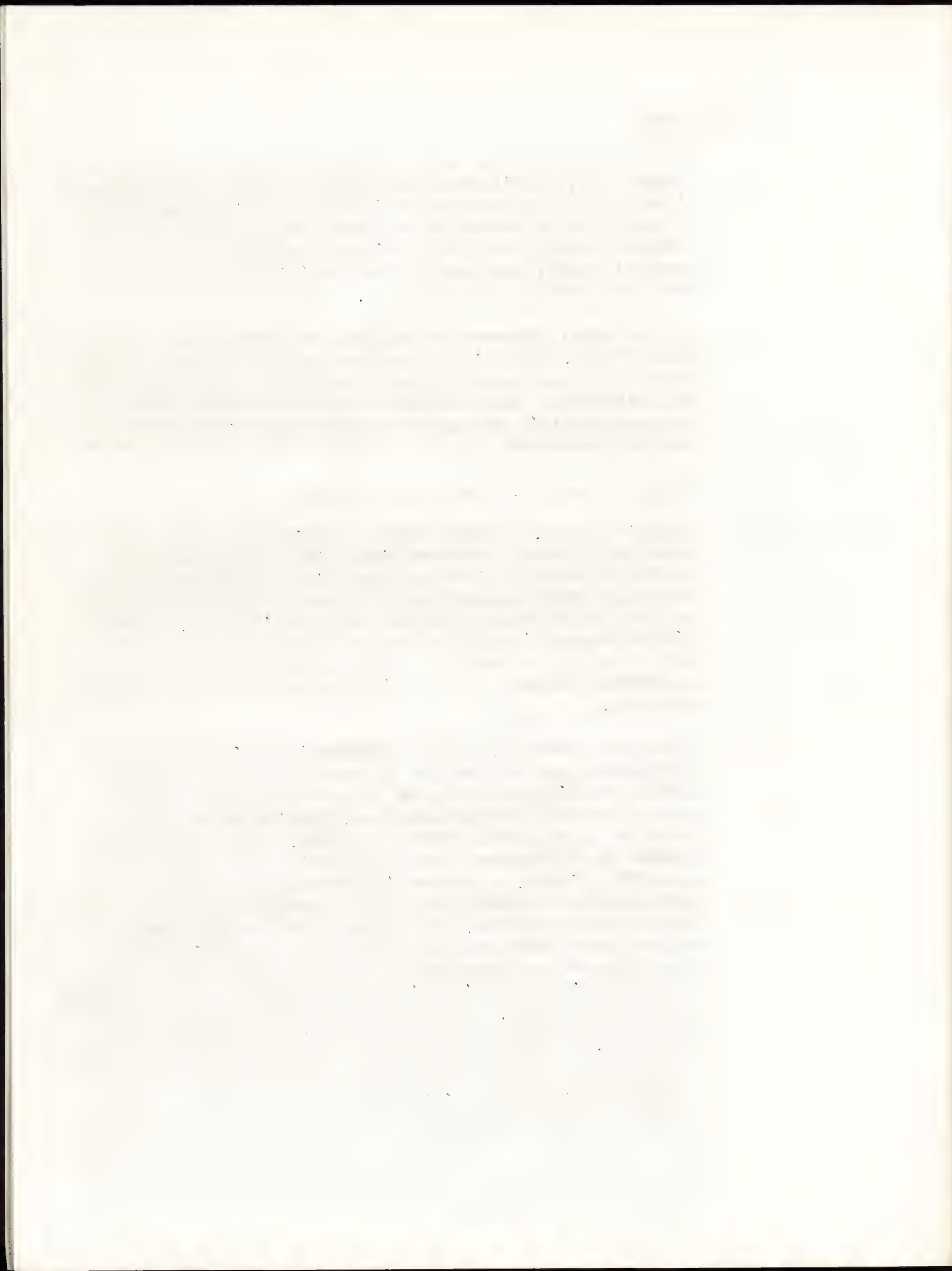
At other times he was more categorical in his condemnation - 'Cours' III, 221 'Lorsque nous parlons des anciens monuments d'Italie, nous entendons les édifices de l'ancienne Rome; il faut bien se garder de les confondre avec ceux de Rome moderne, leurs architectes s'étant tout permis et le Borromini ayant, pour ainsi dire, achevé d'y corrompre le goût de l'architecture antique'.

But, as usual, Blondel is prepared to modify his judgement - 'Cours' V, 3. 'Il n'y a peut-être pas eu un grand mal que Rome ait en son Borromini, et que nous ayons en nos Lajoux, nos Meissonnier, nos Perrault; mais il fallait leur laisser leur originalité, et non les suivre comme l'on a fait pendant longtemps'.

23. 'Cours' I, xv, cf. also IV lxi - lxi.

24. 'Cours' III, lx. - 'Nous avons observé, en parlant de la coupe des pierres, que cette étude était indispensable; en effet quel secours l'art du trait n'offre-t-il pas dans la bâtisse, combien surtout ne s'en sont pas servis utilement les Goths dans la construction de leurs édifices. Par l'étude des mathématiques, presque universelle aujourd'hui, combien cet art n'a-t-il pas fait de progrès parmi nous, depuis les Delorme, par les découvertes des praticiens de nos jours.

Il en faut convenir, rien ne résiste à cet égard aux architectes, qui ont le plus de connaissance dans cette partie, ils négligent même de faire usage de tous les secrets que cet art nous enseigne, et dédaignent de faire parade de la plupart de ses ressources. Ils aiment mieux, disent-ils, satisfaire l'oeil que l'estomac, surtout lorsqu'ils s'agit, ou de nos édifices publics, ou de quelques-unes des parties les plus usitées dans nos bâtiments d'habitation. Ils pensent avec raison que la vraisemblance doit avoir le pas sur une témérité présomptueuse et abandonnent aux appareilleurs les minuties, ces petits détails symétrisés qui ne prouvent que la difficulté de la main d'oeuvre. Ils se renferment dans les bornes qui leur sont prescrites par le goût de l'art: visant d'ailleurs à la beauté de leurs oeuvres, ils ne perdent pas de vue une économie raisonnable, et s'appliquent particulièrement à soutenir en l'air avec légèreté et leurs coupes et les paraches qui les rattachent: ils s'attachent à leurs voûtes, à leurs voussures, aux trompes et aux autres pièces de trait qui, en assurant la solidité de l'édifice, n'en sont pas moins susceptibles de membres d'architecture et d'ornements destinés à les embellir.



Nous n'entendons pas néanmoins qu'il faille négliger la beauté de l'appareil, lors de la construction d'un ouvrage important, nous la regardons au contraire comme une des parties de l'art qui peut ajouter à celle de l'ordonnance etc'

And against this statement one may set Blondel's criticism of Egyptian building procedure - 'Cours' III, 156 -

'Combien de ceux qui négligent les éléments de l'art, pensent qu'il suffit de percer un mur de face pour faire une croisée, semblables en cela aux Egyptiens qui avaient érigés des colonnes à raison des différentes points d'appuis dont ils avaient besoin, sans se douter que de ce point d'appui devait naître le rapport de leur hauteur avec leur diamètre'.

25. 'Cours' I, xvi. cf. also Pierre Patte, 'Cours' V, vi - 'Persuadé que les routines ne sont propres qu'à former des hommes médiocres, M. Blondel avait pour principes d'éclairer par le raisonnement et le jugement, tout ce qu'il enseignait, et en effet, il n'y a véritablement que cette méthode de hâter les progrès en quelque genre d'études que ce soit'.

26. 'Cours' IV, lxx.

27. 'Cours' IV, xlvi.
cf. also 'Cours' I, 132 - 'Il faut savoir que l'architecture, ses préceptes à part, est un art de goût, de génie et d'invention; que quelquefois même on peut et l'on doit s'affranchir de certaines règles. Ne vouloir jamais s'en écarter, c'est risquer de tomber dans la sécheresse et la stérilité.'

'Cours' IV, 347 - 'La seule théorie rend souvent timide, et empêche de quitter la règle et le compas, l'expérience, le goût, le raisonnement, savent franchir les préceptes, ou du moins, ils indiquent le moyen de l'interpréter; et c'est de là, nous pouvons le dire, que sont nés les ouvrages de génie qui honorent la France et nos artistes. Mais qu'on y prenne garde: il est un temps pour oser, il n'appartient pas à tous de la faire, il faut avoir beaucoup vu, avoir examiné avec soin les ressources employées par les grands maîtres, avoir appris de bonne heure à discuter l'art.'

'Cours' III, 294; II, 227.



28. 'Architecture Française', 1727, I, 23 - 'il paraît que le goût soit personnel et indéterminé'.
29. 'Cours' I, 448;
30. 'Cours' I, xiv.
- 30a. 'Cours' IV, lxvii.
'Cours' III, lv. - 'Il faut tout examiner, même les édifices médiocres: l'architecte impartial doit faire son profit de tout: il est d'ailleurs certaines médiocrités en architecture qui ne sont véritablement telles que pour l'homme superficiel: à travers de pareilles productions, l'homme de talent découvre quelquefois de pensées hardies, une expression forte, des licences permises, des écarts heureux, il n'y a guère que les bâtiments d'une composition au dessous de la médiocrité, qui ne puissent être d'aucune utilité à l'architecte observateur.

'Cours' III, lxx - 'La théorie qui a pour base les préceptes de l'art, la pratique qui en est l'application, sont deux parties nécessaires mais insuffisantes pour faire un bon architecte. Pour arriver à la perfection, il faut essentiellement y joindre l'expérience et le goût propre à chaque genre de production: c'est le goût, c'est l'expérience qui fournit aux architectes le moyen de varier leurs compositions, et qui leur apprend à démêler le choix des exemples qu'ils doivent imiter. C'est l'application plus ou moins judicieuse de ces deux objets qui procure à l'architecture cette prééminence qu'elle a sur tous les autres arts libéraux. C'est le goût qui établit, qui détermine le style propre à chaque genre de bâtiment et qui, guidé par le raisonnement de l'architecte, lui faire varier les façades à l'infini, au lieu qu'exécutées par des artistes subalternes et sans goût, elles seraient toutes monotones.

Ce goût dont nous voulons parler, ne s'acquiert véritablement qu'en s'appliquant à connaître de bonne heure, celui qui domine dans les différentes nations policées, ou l'architecture tient un rang distingué: il faut non seulement comparer la grandeur des masses des Egyptiens, les détails précieux des Grecs, la belle disposition des ouvrages des Romains, la structure ingénieuse des Arabes, mais encore le



30a (continued)

style particulier qui les caractérise; enfin les ouvrages des architectes Français, particulièrement ceux du dernier siècle, où l'on remarque la finesse du sentiment dans les choses de goût, l'expression dans les détails, et l'élégance dans les formes. En un mot, il faut examiner avec attention ce qu'ils contiennent en particulier d'excellent, de médiocre, ou de défectueux. C'est cette manière d'examiner qui fait parvenir au goût de l'art, et qui porte insensiblement le jeune artiste à imiter ceux là, à perfectionner ceux-ci et à éviter les derniers pour arriver au terme de la véritable perfection.'

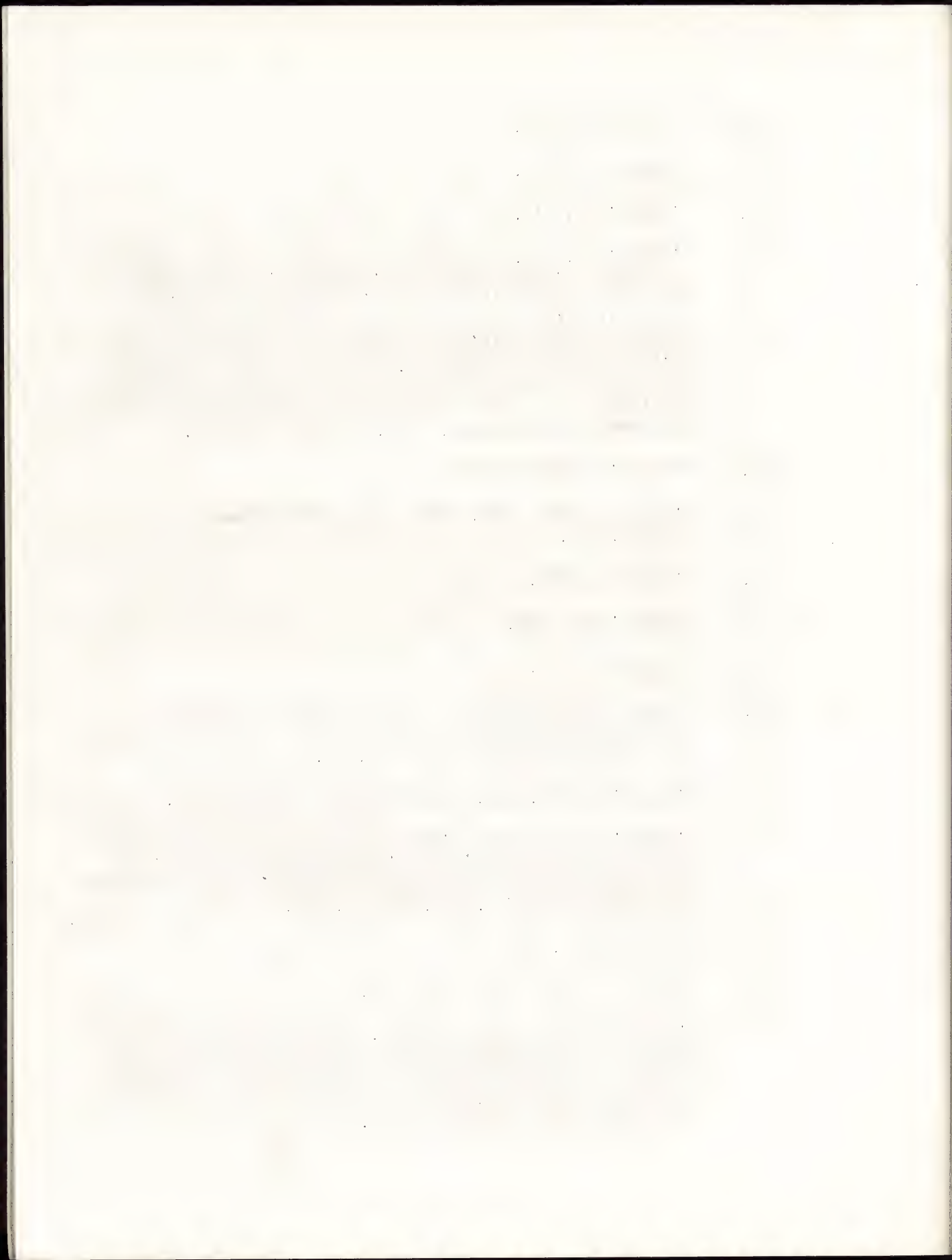
cf. also I, 383.

But, careful as always, Blondel does point out the dangers of adapting no more than the details and stylistic devices of varying styles to 18th century architecture - 'Cours' III lviii; IV, 244.

31. 'Cours' II, 318.
32. 'Cours' III, 15 - 24.
33. 'Cours' I, 431, III, lxxiii, I, 385.
34. 'Cours' IV, L.
35. 'Cours' I, 392 - 393, on 'Vraisemblance'. cf. also I, 391 - 2 'Du style vrai en architecture', and I, 133.
36. 'Cours' IV, lxxvii.
37. 'Cours' I, 455. cf. also I, 395-6, 408-9, 413-16, 423-4.
38. 'Cours' IV, 193.
39. 'Cours' IV, 199.
40. 'Cours' IV, 263.
41. Consistent in his liking for French planning throughout the 'Cours', he showed his interest far earlier in his 'Architecture Française', Vol. I, p. 21 - 'Il semble même que depuis environ cinquante ans ces derniers (les Architectes Français) ayent à cet égard inventé un art nouveau'



- 41a. 'Cours' I, xvii.
42. 'Cours' IV, 331.
43. 'Cours' IV, lix.
44. 'Cours' IV, 244. On page 185 he remarks about these projects - 'il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver dans ces deux projets tout le degré de perfection qu'on a droit d'espérer puisqu'il est question ici de faire sentir la difficulté de concilier la distribution avec l'ordonnance des Bâtimens.' In buildings of lesser importance, however, it is fair to say that Blondel insisted on a greater sense of convenience at the expense of external appearance. cf. 'Cours' III, lix.
45. 'Cours' I, 396 - 8.
46. 'Cours' I, 396, 314, 398; II, xxxii footnote; I, 403, 445.
47. 'Cours' I, 459.
48. 'Cours' III, 292.
49. 'Cours' I, 408.
50. 'Cours' II, 226 - 32. This concept of 'character' presumably derives from Boffrand, who discusses often in his 'Livre d'Architecture' op.cit.
51. 'Cours' I, 172. cf. also III, 200 - 202; I, 339.
52. 'Cours' III, lxxvii - 'Les ornemens ne peuvent jamais constituer les beautés de l'architecture, qu'on s'en ressouvienne, ils sont seulement destinés pour l'embellir et la faire valoir'. cf. also I, 345.
53. 'Cours' I, p. 310 - 312; p. 356 - 359.
54. 'Cours' I, 312 - 314; II, 255.
55. 'Cours' I, 315, 464; III, 219. Blondel was perfectly aware of the purely functional form that the pediment assumed in Greek architecture, but he did not insist on any such limitation, for him the pediment was, above all else, a decorative feature.



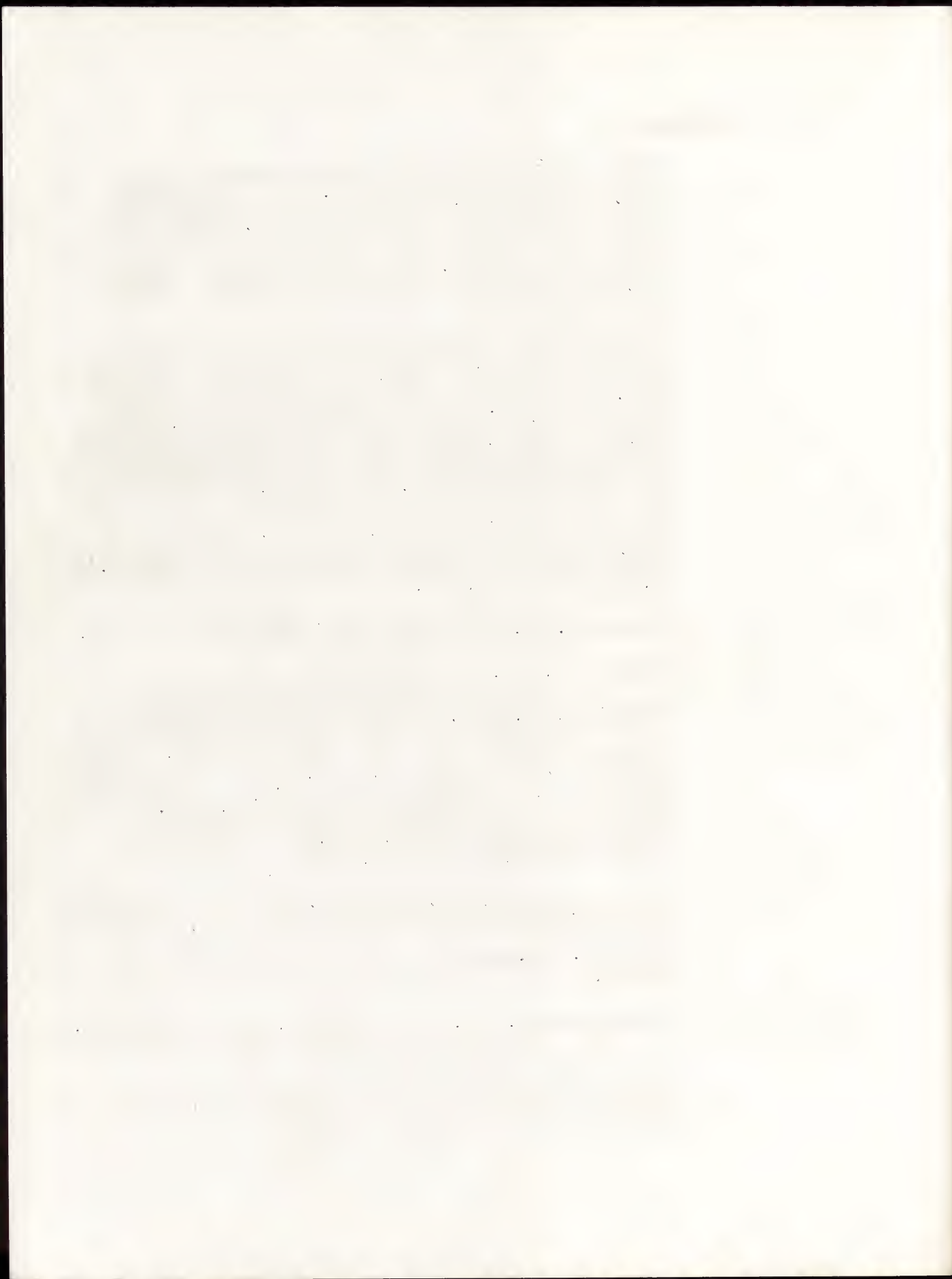
56. 'Cours' I, 460. cf. also II, 159, 167-8.
57. Blondel was always flattering in his comments on Soufflot's buildings, the church of Sainte Geneviève especially - I, 108, 423; II, 228, 319, 321, 348; III, 454; though it must be admitted that there are several veiled references to Soufflot's practices and beliefs that could surely not have been unintentional - they are highly derogatory.
58. Bernini certainly occupied Blondel's attention, despite his dislike of almost everything the Italian had done - a notable exception being the colonnade in front of Saint Peter's, Rome. cf. 'Cours' I, 130; II, 109, 111, 312, 435 etc.
59. cf. 'Cours' I, 216 - 236.
60. 'Cours' I, 214. cf. also I, 191 - 'De toutes les parties de l'architecture, il n'en est point qui annonce plus la magnificence de l'art que les ordres qui décorent les édifices; aussi l'architecture ne parvint-elle à son dernier degré de perfection, que lorsque les proportions de ces ordres furent fixées, leurs différents caractères établis, et leurs divers usages déterminés par les Grecs.'
61. 'Cours' IX, pl. LXIX.
62. 'Cours' III, p. 448.
63. True to his beliefs, Blondel broadened the study of architecture to take in the Italian school entire, though it is clear that he was not inspired to recommend the modern school as a source of particular inspiration (cf. 'Cours' III, 221). Yet he was apparently familiar with much of the work of Borromini, the Fontana's, Antonio de San Gallo, Rossi etc., etc., cf. 'Cours' III, 421 - 435. For Carlo Maderna's Palazzo Mattei, cf. 'Cours' IX, pl. LXIV.
64. 'Cours' III, p. 429.
65. This paragraph is certainly his most interesting comment on Palladio - 'Cours' III, 431 - 'Palladio, dit-on tous les jours a observé cependant plus qu'aucun autre architecte, ces repos, ces intervalles que nous semblons condamner. Cela lui est arrivé quelquefois, à la vérité; aussi n'est-ce pas dans cette partie que nous voudrions l'imiter.'



quelle différence d'ailleurs entre ses productions et celles dont il est ici question? Il a presque toujours donné du mouvement à ses façades; et elles sont la plupart très ornées: il entendait supérieurement les formes pyramidales; il profilait assez pertinemment; il accompagnait ses édifices d'avant scènes toujours intéressantes; et s'il eût su donner plus de grandeur à la plupart de ses ouvertures, et observer plus de sévérité entre le rapport que doit avoir leur largeur avec leur hauteur, certainement il serait celui des architectes d'Italie qui mériterait le plus d'être imité parmi nous. Mais les enthousiastes de cet architecte célèbre, n'en retiennent que ce qu'il serait à désirer qu'on évitât d'introduire dans notre manière de bâtir: d'où il arrive souvent qu'au lieu de parvenir à une certaine simplicité, toujours désirable, on fait des compositions, ou tout-à-fait pauvres, ou d'une richesse extravagante, qui éloignent également de l'idée qu'on doit se former de la belle architecture.' cf. also 'Cours' I, 387.

- 66. 'Cours' IX, Pl. LXXI - LXXIII; 'Cours' III, 454 - 460.
- 66a. 'Cours' III, 342.
- 67. 'Cours' IX, Pl. LXXI.
- 68. He writes with pleasure of Peyre and de Mailly's project for the Comédie Française ('Cours' I, 110; II, 270) and of Peyre's Hôtel Nivernais ('Cours' I, 110). Chalgrin is mentioned for his house for the Comte de Saint Florentin in Paris ('Cours' I, 110) and Ledoux for the Hôtel d'Uzes ('Cours' I, 110).
- 69. 'Cours' I, 108 - 'cet édifice intéressant est remarquable par sa forme circulaire, et par la régularité de son appareil'. cf. also Blondel's Comments on Halles in general. 'Cours' II, 428 - 30.
- 70. 'Cours' IV, Lxx. cf. also 'Cours' I, 427; and note (9).

'Cours' IV, xv - 'On pouvait même croire qu'il semble que plus nos architectes sont jeunes encore; plus ils affectent d'agrandir leurs ordres, dans l'idée de paraître des personnages importants etc.'



'Cours' IV, lxxviii - 'Nos vrais architectes ont eu occasion d'élever quelques monuments; leur marche mesurée à raison de la grandeur de leurs édifices a échauffé nos jeunes têtes, et a persuadé à la plupart, qu'on ne pouvait plus faire de colonnes qu'elles n'eussent aux moins six pieds de diamètre. Quelle extravagance!'

71. 'Cours' I, 136 - 'N'avons nous pas vu les ornements frivoles des dedans passer dans les dehors? abus qui a subsisté longtemps. Aujourd'hui on applique le style grave des dehors dans l'intérieur des appartements: on donne à nos meubles, ce que l'expérience nous avait appris à éviter, les formes carrées dont les angles blessent l'oeil, nuisent à la circulation des personnes assemblées dans nos demeures etc'

'Cours' I, 138 - 'Tant de productions informes, tant de décorations extravagantes, gigantesques, qui annoncent la décadence du goût.'

cf. also II, 146; IV, 244; III, lviil.

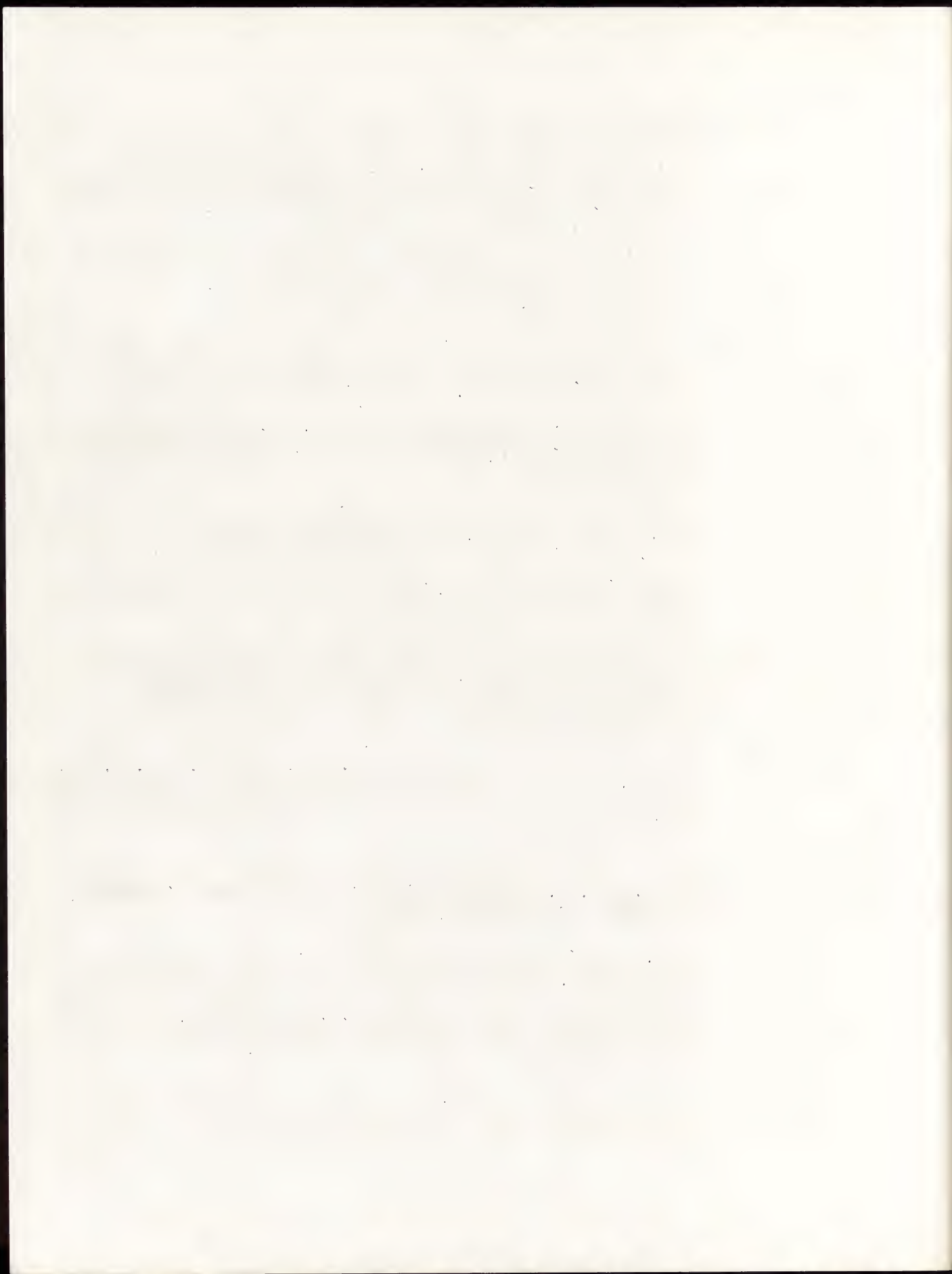
72. There is no single, entirely reliable account of Servandoni's life and work, but there are several adequate sketches of his life and numerous articles on various aspects of his work. The best general survey is given in Fiske Kimball, op. cit. cf. esp. p.156, 163, 168, 197; though a useful reference is naturally to be found in Hauteceur, op. cit. III and Charvet, 'Lyon artistique, les architectes', p. 362 gives a short bibliography on Servandoni.

cf. esp. H. de Chervevrières 'Revue des Arts décoratifs, 1880-1881', 122, 170, 403, 439.

J. Bouché 'Gazette Des Beaux Arts', Paris, 1910, II, 121 - 146.

Saintenoy 'Annales de la Société Royale de l'archéologie de Bruxelles', XXIX, 1920, II, 41 - 59.

M. L. Bataille 'Servandoni' in Dimier 'Les peintres français du XVIII^e siècle', II, 1930.



73. Servandoni's work at S. Sulpice is mentioned in most of the above references, none of which gives a complete and detailed history of the building of the west façade of this church - even the articles cited below are inadequate and unsatisfactory in this respect.

cf. Charles Hamel, 'Histoire de l'Eglise Saint-Sulpice', Paris, 2nd edition, 1909, Chap. IX, p. 187.

Lemaire, 'l'Eglise Saint-Sulpice' ± 1931.

Hauteceur, op. cit. III, 317 - 319. cf. also p. 282 re Meisnier's project; p. 362 re Varin's project.

Emile Malbois 'Projets de plans devant Saint-Sulpice par Servandoni' in the Gazette des Beaux Arts', 1922 II, p. 283 - 292.

Emile Malbois 'Oppenard et l'Eglise Saint-Sulpice' in the 'Gazette des Beaux Arts', 1933, I, 34 - 46.

A. E. Brinckmann 'Die Baukunst des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts', Berlin 1922, II, p. 188, 282.

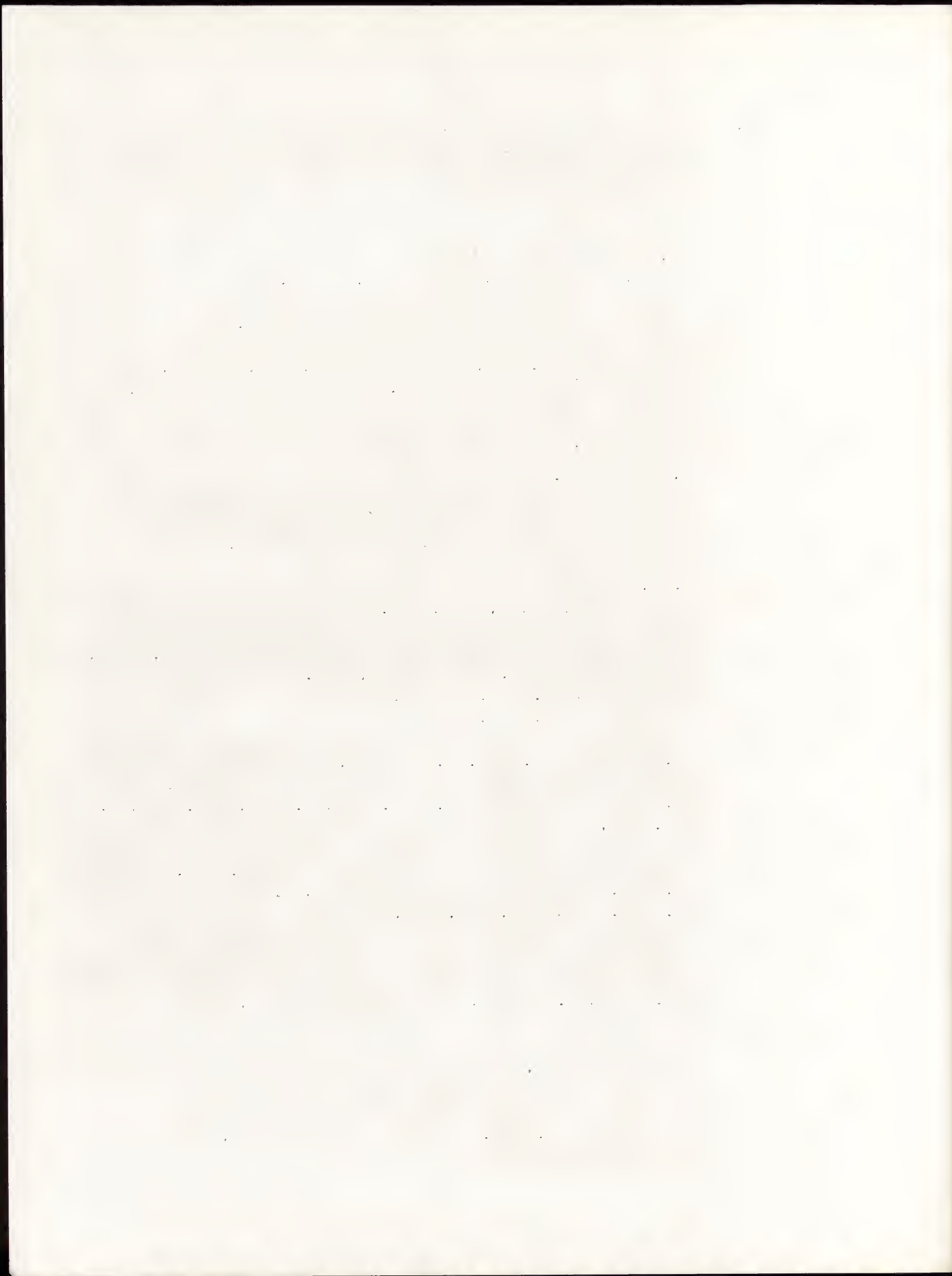
74. This project is in the Bibliothèque Nationale Est. coll. Destailleur topog. III, 535, p. 113. It is reproduced in Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 365, fig. 309, and in Brinckmann, op. cit.

75. cf. Malbois, op. cit. p. 39, fig. 8, which shows a section through the nave and the rear elevation of the West portico. cf. also Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 317, fig. 262, p. 318, fig. 263.

76. Servandoni engraved his new design in 1742. cf. Blondel op. cit. Architecture Française, II, p. 39 and Hauteceur, op. cit. III, 367, fig. 311.

77. Pierre Patte 'Nouvelle Démonstration de mon projet d'achèvement pour le grand portail de Saint Sulpice', 14th Feb. 1768, p. 6 note. Patte remarks also, 'on a eu raison, il y a vingt ans, de condamner cette construction,' suggesting that the date of the commission of enquiry was in 1748 or 1749.

quoted: Mac Mathieu 'Pierre Patte, sa vie et son oeuvre', Paris, 1940, p. 125. cf. also p. 122 - 127.



78. op. cit. II, p. 37 - 40. Façade illustrated Bk. III, Chap. V, p. II, No. 168.
79. cf. note 75.
80. Blondel op. cit. II, 39.
81. Malbois, op. cit. G.R.A., 1922, II, 283 - 292.
82. Malbois, op. cit. p. 283 illustrates this medal.
83. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 506 and 507, fig. 425.
cf. also Malbois op. cit.
84. Mac Mathieu, op. cit. p. 122 - 127.

J. Mondain Monval 'Soufflot, sa vie, son oeuvre, son esthétique, 1713 - 1780', Paris, 1918, p. 379 ff.

Hauteceur, op. cit. III, 362 - 364.

- 84a. For a view of the portico from the north-east, showing the state of the third order and pediment in 1765, see Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar 'Diderot, Salons' Vol. I, Oxford 1957 pl. 87, De Machy 'Ruines de la foire Saint Germain'.
85. Blondel, op. cit. 'Cours' III, 351. On p. 344 Blondel wrote - 'le principal portail de Saint Sulpice est peut-être trop colossal pour la grandeur du vaisseau auquel il donne entrée, mais du moins doit - on reconnaître à la beauté de son ordonnance l'Architecte instruit qui en a donné les dessins, l'homme de goût, en un mot, l'Artiste éclairé et nourri des procédés des Anciens', and in 'Cours' II, p. 210, he said of Saint Sulpice - 'il aurait été bien à désirer qu'en n'eût fait aucun changement depuis la mort de cet habile Artiste; les couronnements qu'on y remarque aujourd'hui étant, par une fatalité incroyable, fort au dessous de la médiocrité, ce qui défigure toute la partie supérieure de cette production, d'ailleurs admirable'.

Blondel speaks often of Servandoni - indeed, is one of the principal contemporary sources of his life.

cf. Blondel, 'Cours' I, 102; II, 209 - 212, 349; III, 330, 344 - 351.

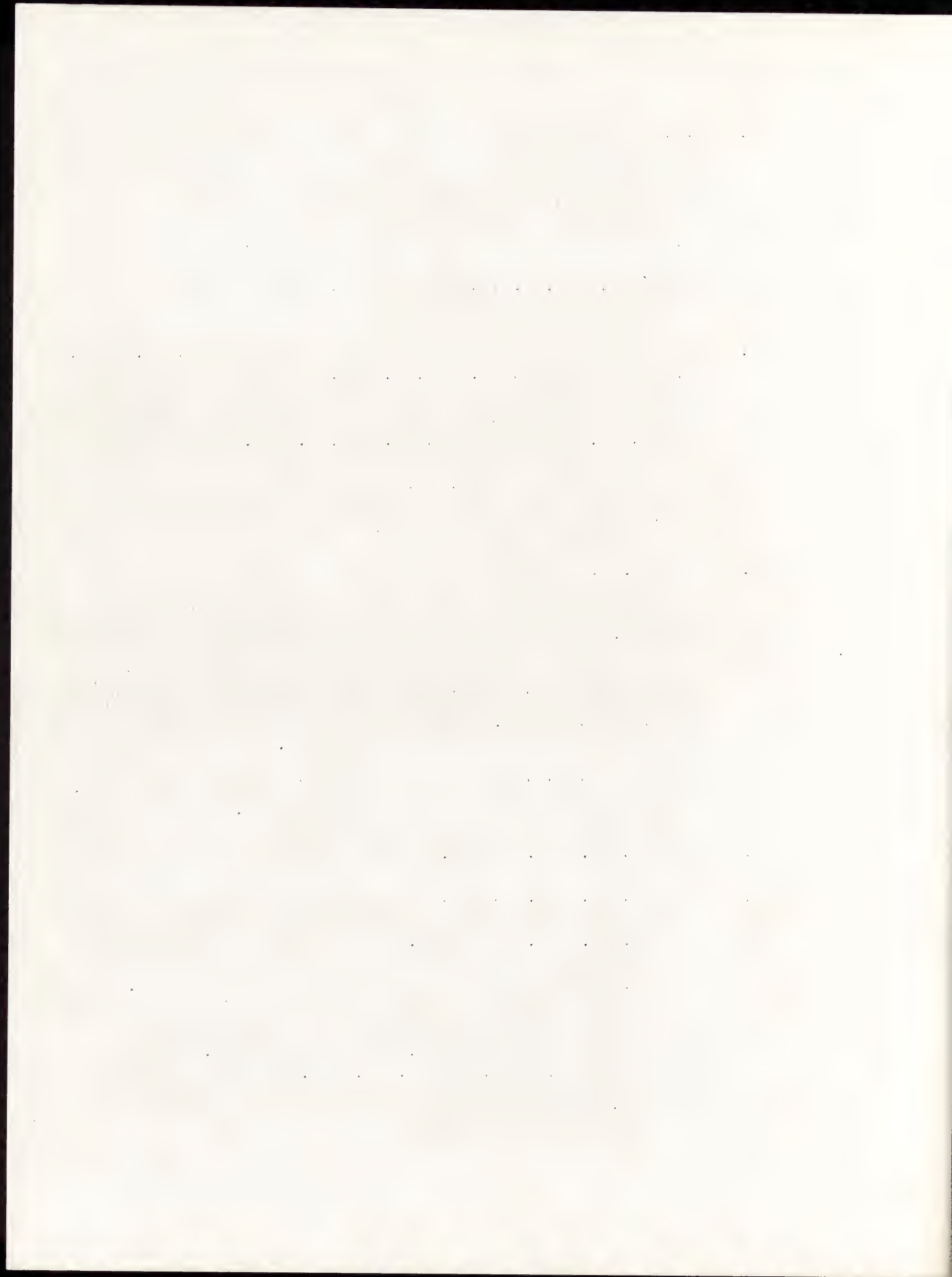


86. J.P. Blondel 'Description des fêtes données par la Ville de Paris à l'occasion du mariage de Madame Louise Elizabeth de France et de Don Philippe, l'Infant d'Espagne, les 29 et 30 Août, 1739', Paris, 1740.

cf. also *Mercur de France*, Sept. 1739, II.

Bouché op. cit. G.B.A. 1910, II, p. 139 - 146 for illustrations of Servandoni's fête designs.
87. Colin Campbell 'Vitruvius Britannicus', IV, 1767, Pl.28-29.
cf. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 197.
- 87a. Caylus and Mariette, for instance, both praised Servandoni highly, cf. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 197.
88. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. II.
Anthony Blunt 'Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700', London, 1953, Chapter 7.
89. op. cit. p. 15, fig. I; 3rd edition, Paris, 1699, p. 12 - 'il parait de ce qui nous reste des anciens Bâtimens', he wrote, 'qu'il n'y avait point de base dans l'ordre Dorique'.
90. The best account of Greek studies at this period is Léon, Comte de Laborde's 'Athènes aux XV^e, et XVIII^e siècles', Paris, 1854, 2 vols., which contains almost all the information used in the following pages.

Emile Egger's 'L'Hellenisme en France', Paris 1849, 2 vols. is virtually useless in the present context.
91. Laborde, op. cit. I, 123.
92. Laborde, op. cit. I, 131.
93. Laborde, op. cit. I, 211 ff.
94. In 1682, Wheler published his account of this journey. His book was virtually a translation of Spon's work, though some notes on plant life were added - 'A Journey into Greece by George Wheler Esq., in company of Dr. Spon of Lyons', London, 1682, 6 vols. Bk.V, p.360 is the relevant passage for our present study; he describes the temple of 'Minerva' after Spon, and gives an illustration of that temple.



94 (continued)

- cf. Laborde, op. cit. II, 41.
95. Laborde, op. cit. I, 215 ff.
96. Laborde, op. cit. II, 25, 26.
97. Laborde, op. cit. II, 1. ff.
98. Spon's 'Recherches curieuses d'Antiquité, contenues en plusieurs dissertations sur des médailles, bas reliefs, statues, monnaies, et inscriptions antiques', published in Lyon, 1683, has an engraved frontispiece which includes a representation of the temple of 'Minerva' at Athens. It is shown with baseless Doric columns.
99. He mentions that he was Président du Bureau des Finances in Paris.
100. Frémin, op. cit. p. 22.
101. Accounts of Cordemoy's life are non-existent; short notices in the Nouvelle Biographie Universelle and Larousse XIX^e siècle, are the only available sources. Art historians, too, have inclined to ignore or underestimate the importance of Cordemoy. Emil Kaufmann, understandably is downright misleading. cf. E. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects, Boulée, Ledoux and Lequeu', in the 'Transactions of the American Philosophical Society', New series, Vol. 42, pt. 3, 1952, p. 448, note 202, 203. In his 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', Harvard, 1955, Kaufmann omits Cordemoy altogether. But Cordemoy has not been without apologists:
- cf. Julius Schlosser ^{gives his dates (1651-1722)} 'Kunstliteratur', Vienna, 1924, 566.
 A. E. Brindmann 'Die Baukunst des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts in die Romanischen Ländern', Berlin, 1922, Vol. II.
 Hauteccœur, op. cit. III, 350, 459; IV, 50, 52, 53, 57.
 Fiske Kimball, op. cit.
 Massimo Petrocchi 'Razionalismo architettonico e razionalismo storiografico', Rome, 1947, p. 12.
 Kurt Cassirer 'Die Ästhetischen Hauptbegriffe der französischen Architektur-Theoretiker von 1650 - 1780', Berlin, 1909.
 Thieme Becker contains no entry on Cordemoy.

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102. cf. 'Mémoires de Trévoux', Sept. 1709, p. 1619.
103. 'Journal de Scavans', Amsterdam, Sept. 1707, p. 510.
104. 'Mémoires de Trévoux' Sept. 1706, p. 1523 ff - 42.
105. 'Mémoires de Trévoux', Sept. 1709, p. 1618 - 1640.
106. Frézier is, once again, one of the neglected theorists of eighteenth century France. There are no adequate studies of his work, though the short account given in the Nouvelle Biographie Universelle is excellent - it appears to be based on a thorough study of papers at Brest, and perhaps is a condensed version of some unpublished thesis.
107. These columns, of marble from Lebda in Africa (according to the Guide Bleue) might have had something to do with Nointel's embassy in Athens; they are, however, not mentioned by Laborde.
108. 'Mémoires de Trévoux':
 July 1710, p. 1248 ff. 'Réponse de M. de Cordemoy' Pt. I.
 August, 1710, p. 1345 ff. " " " " " Pt. II.
 Sept. 1711, p. 1569 ff. 'Réplique à la Réponse de M. de Cordemoy, par M. Frézier.'
 July 1712, p. 1250 ff. 'Dissertation sur la manière dont les églises doivent être bâties pour être conformes à l'Antiquité et à la Belle Architecture' by Cordemoy.
109. 'Mémoires de Trévoux', op. cit. 1711, 1584.
110. 'Mémoires de Trévoux', op. cit. 1710, 1258.
111. 'Mémoires de Trévoux', op. cit. 1710, 1252.
112. The second edition provoked no new spate of letters, but it is infinitely more important than the first edition, for not only was it greatly revised, but it contained a résumé of Cordemoy's controversy with Frézier, and a further reply from Cordemoy.
113. cf. Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, p. 69; p. 70, fig. 48.
114. cf. Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, p. 388; IV, p. 335.
115. cf. Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, 103, 375, 275 n.6; 411, fig. 336.
 cf. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 197-8.



117. P. Parent, *8L'Architecture des Pays Bas Méridionaux XVI - XVIII siècles*, Paris, 1925.

A. G. B. Schayes *'l'Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique'*, Vol. IV, 1860.

J. Braun *'Die Belgischen Jesuiten Kirchen, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Gotik und Renaissance'*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908.

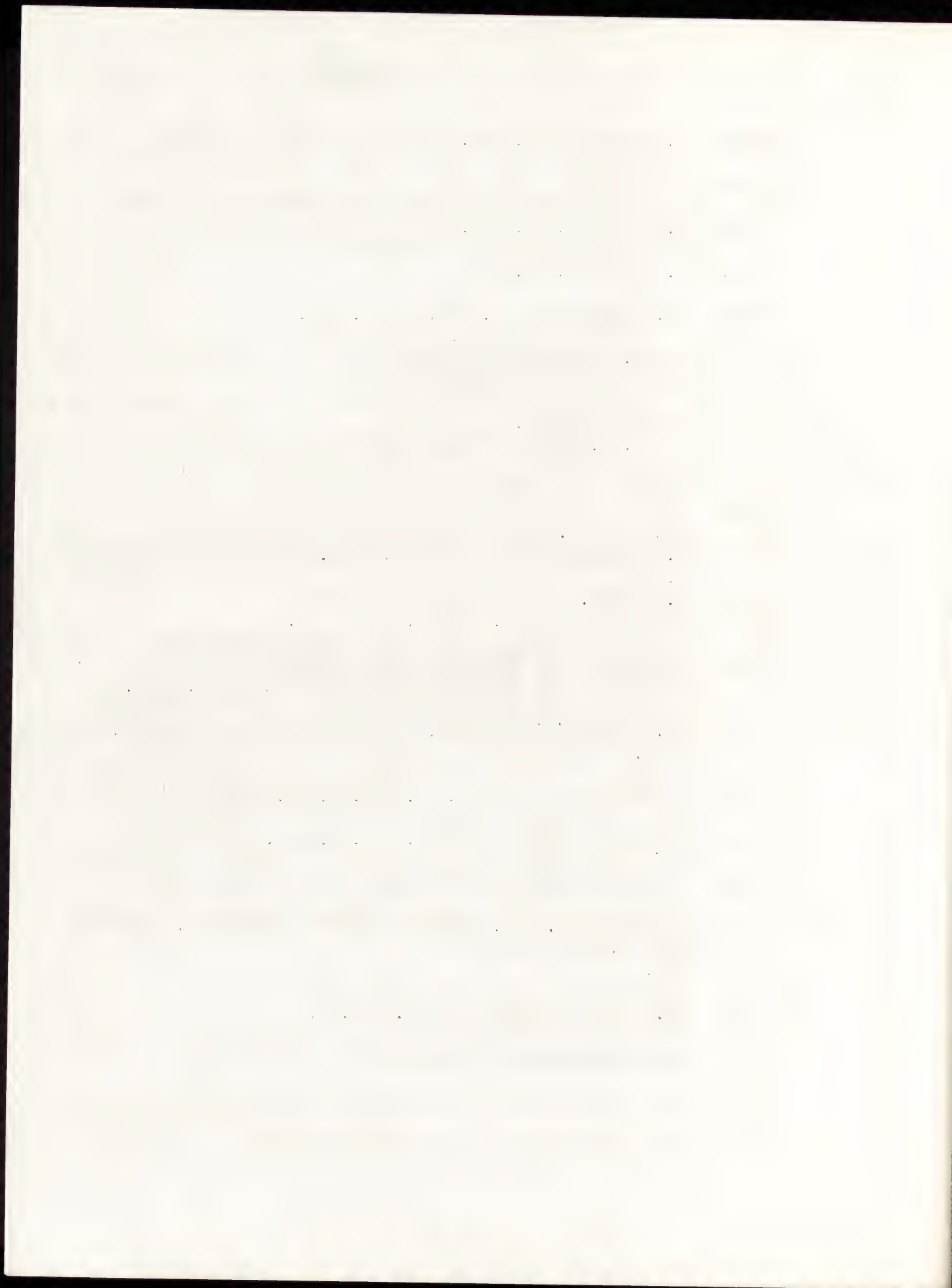
Louis Serbat *'Bulletin Monumental'*, Vol. 66, 1902; Vol. 67, 1903.
118. Parent, op.cit. Pl. LIV shows an excellent view of St. Géry at Cambrai.
119. On Contant d'Ivry cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. III and IV; Fiske Kimball, op.cit. and Thieme Becker.
120. Parent, op. cit. 185, shows a small sketch of the interior.
121. Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 354, fig. 294 shows the façade of the church.
122. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. 232.
123. Boffrand's review was presented in February, 1727.
124. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. 199 ff.
cf. also Charles Hisard *'Correspondence inédite de Comte de Caylus'*, Paris, 1867.
125. Fiske Kimball, op. cit. 199 gives an interesting, but not, I feel, entirely accurate or satisfactory estimate of Leblanc's activities, cf. rather *'Un Voyageur philosophe au XVIII^e siècle - l'Abbé Jean Bernard Le Blanc'*, by Hélène Monod-Cassidy, Harvard, 1941.
126. Leblanc, op. cit. II, 42 - Wren, he said, in designing St. Paul's had merely reduced St. Peter's by 2/3 of its size - 'il est aisé de s'apercevoir que partout où il s'est écarté de son modèle, il a commis les fautes les plus grossières.'
127. Leblanc, op. cit. II, 41.
128. Leblanc, op. cit. II, 44.



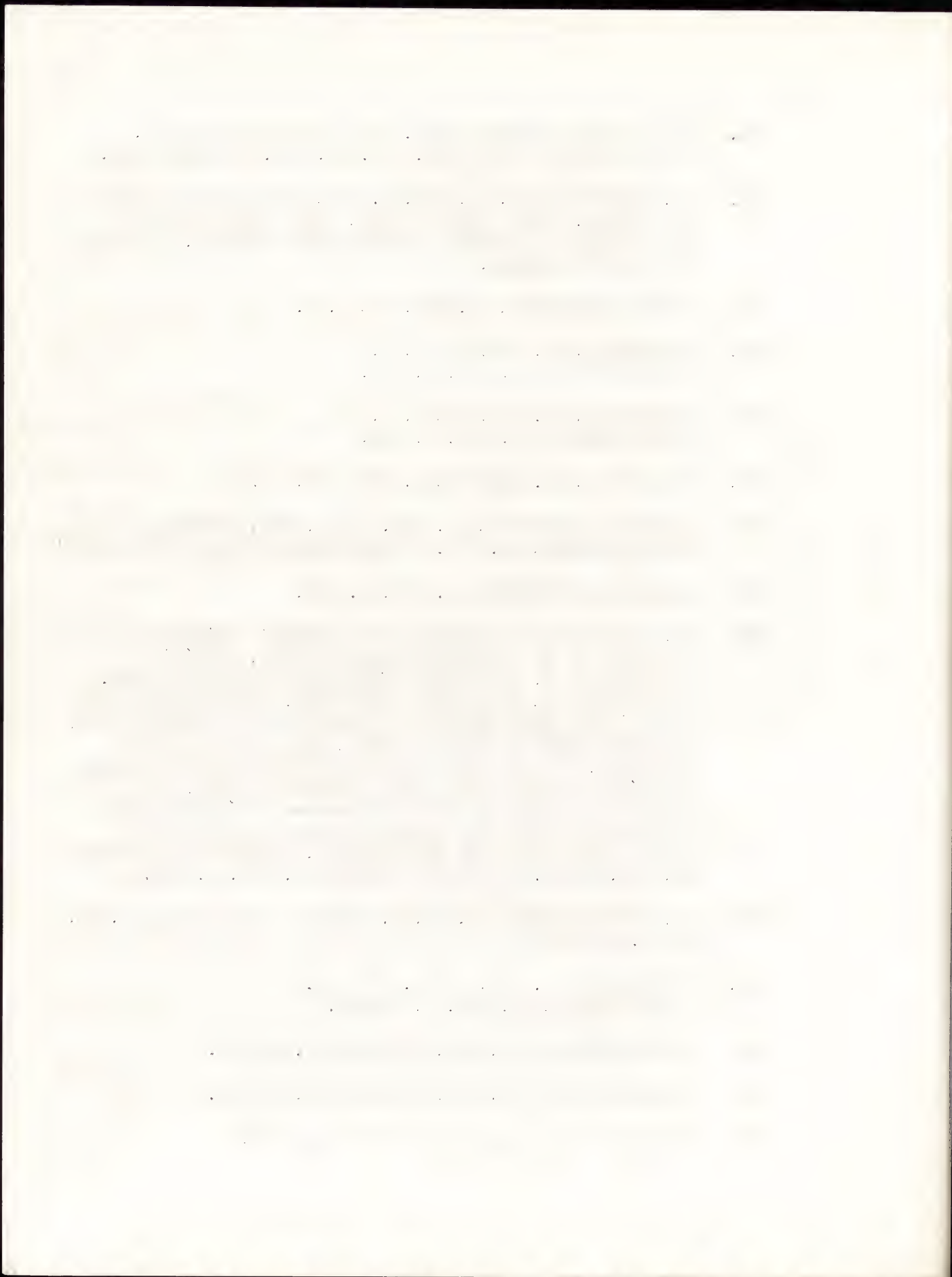
129. Leblanc, op. cit. I, 207.
130. Leblanc, op. cit. II, 47. cf. also II, 42.
131. Leblanc, op. cit. II, 52.
132. cf. Jean Locquin 'La lutte des critiques d'art contre les portraitistes au XVIII^e siècle' in the 'Archives de l'Art Français', 1913, p. 309.
- André Fontaine 'Les Doctrines d'art en France', Chapter IX.
- Henri Bergmann 'Les Doctrines en France de Poussin à Diderot', Paris, 1914.
- Monod-Cassidy, op. cit. 107 ff.
133. Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, p. 564, 565, fig. 477.
134. Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, p. 557 - 559.
135. cf. Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Three Revolutionary Architects', p. 450 - 453 - for a well-documented account of Legeay's life and his influence.
- cf. also Emil Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', Harvard, 1955, p. 106, 146, 149, 154, 161.
- Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 214.
- Hautecoeur, op. cit. III, p. 475, 476, Fig. 400; IV, p. 37, 60, 233, 345, 347, 502 n.l.
136. C. N. Cochin 'Mémoires inédits' ed. Charles Henry, Paris, 1890, p. 141 quoted Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Three Revolutionary Architects', p. 450 n. 261, and Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 214.
137. cf. Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Three Revolutionary Architects', figs. 8 - 12.
138. H. Focillon 'G.B. Piranèse; Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Piranèse', Paris 1918.
- Monorazzi 'Notizie biografiche', Milan, 1921.
- A. M. Hind 'G.B. Piranesi, Critical Study, London, 1922.
- A. Giesecke 'G.B. Piranesi', 1912.
- Rudolf Wittkower 'Piranesi's "Parere su l'Architettura"' in 'Journal of the Warburg Institute', London, 1938-39, Vol. II, p. 147 - 158.



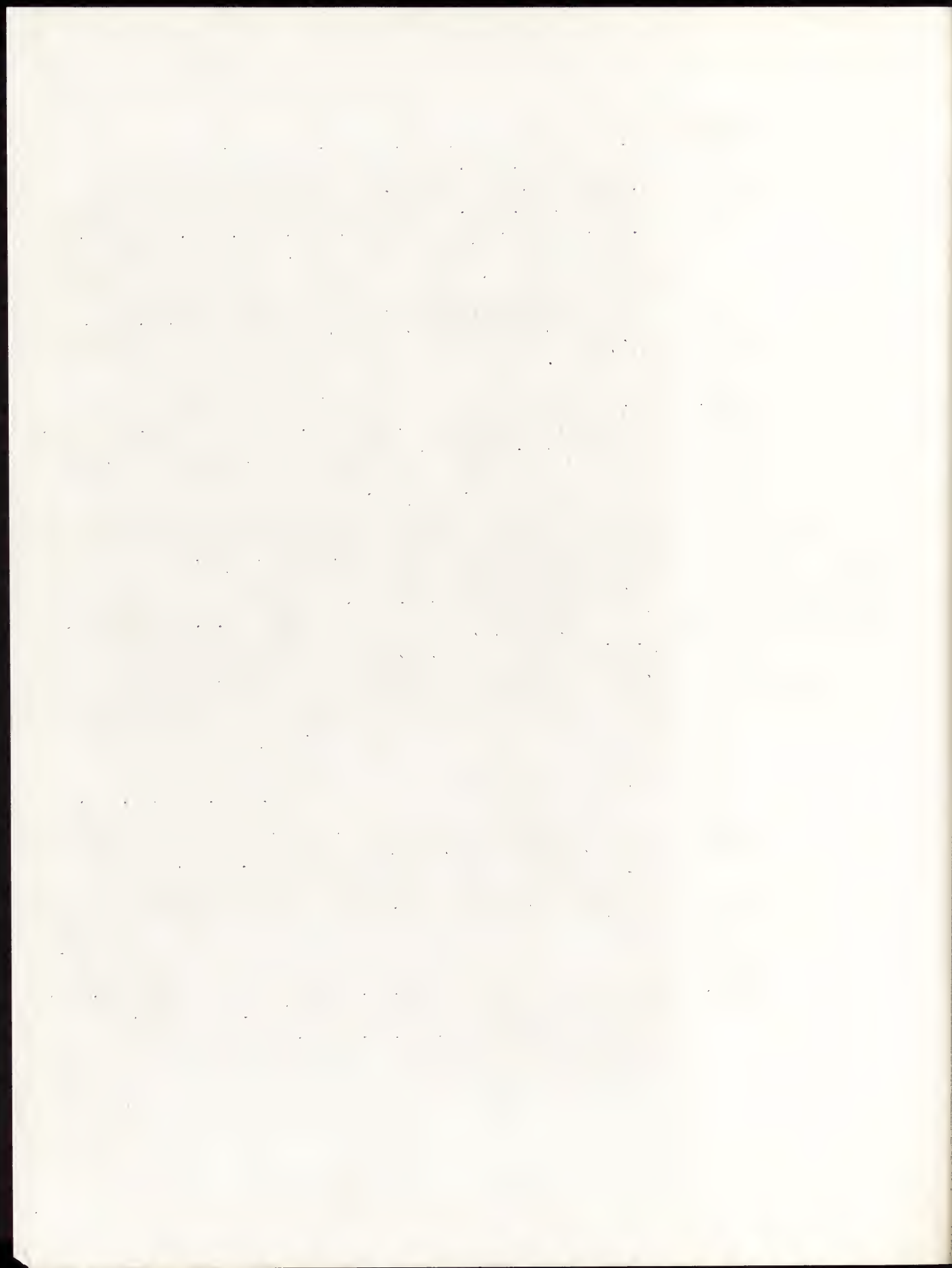
139. H. Focillon, op. cit.
140. H. Focillon, op. cit.
141. H. Focillon, op. cit.
142. H. Focillon, op. cit.
143. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 1-5.
 Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 211 - 216.
 H. Roujon 'Le voyage du Marquis de Marigny en Italie',
 Academie des Beaux Arts, Nov. 1898.
 A. P. Malassis 'Correspondence de Madame de Pompadour',
 Paris, 1878.
 G. N. Cochin 'Notice Necrologique de Marquis de
 Marigny', Journal de Paris, 1st June, 1781.
144. E. and J. Goncourt 'L'Art du XVIII^e siècle', Paris 1874,
 II, 48, 104.
 E. Rocheblave 'Les Cochins', 1893.
 P. Mantz 'Gazette des Beaux Arts 1^{ere} period. XI, 1861,
 p. 251 ff.
 Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 212 - 215.
145. Mondain Monval 'Correspondence de Soufflot avec les
 directeurs des Bâtimens, 1756 - 1780', Paris, 1918.
146. cf. Forest 'L'Eglise St. Bruno des Chartreux de Lyon',
 1900.
147. quoted Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 96. 1758 *édit.* II p. 86
148. quoted Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 102. 1758 *édit.* I. p. 209.
149. Caylus in fact broke his trust, for he promised Cochin
 that he would not show the drawing to anyone, let alone
 reproduce it. cf. Leblanc's letter to Marigny, dated
 Venice, 26th May, 1751, in H. Monod-Cassidy, op. cit.
 402.
150. cf. also Monod-Cassidy, op. cit. p. 397 letter from
 Leblanc to Marigny, 21st Jan. 1751, on the excavations
 at Herculaneum.



151. cf. Nikolaus Pevsner and S. Lang 'Apollo or Baboon'.
Architectural Review, Vol. 104. No. 624. December 1948.
152. cf. Monod-Cassidy, op. cit. p. 394, letter from Leblanc
to Marigny, dated 30th May 1750, Rome, informing him
that Cochin has returned to Rome from Frascati, Soufflot
has left for Naples.
153. quoted Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 1.
154. Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 4.
Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 214.
155. Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 4.
Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 214.
156. Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 199, fig. 90.
157. quoted: Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 201, 202 from
Mondain Monval, op. cit. 'Correspondence de Soufflot, etc.'
158. quoted Fiske Kimball op. cit. p. 214.
159. cf. the much quoted passage from Cochin's 'Mémoires
Inédites' - 'la véritable époque décisive, c'a été
le retour de M. de Marigny d'Italie et de sa compagnie.
Nous avions vu, et vu avec réflexion. Le ridicule nous
parut à tous bien sensible et nous ne nous en tîmes point.
Nos cris gagnèrent dans la suite, que Soufflot prêcha
l'exemple. Il fut suivi de Potain et de plusieurs autres
bons élèves architectes, qui revinrent de Rome. J'y
aidai aussi comme la mouche de couche. J'écrivis dans
le Mercure contre les folies anciennes et les couvris
d'une assez bonne dose de ridicule'. quoted: Hauteccœur,
op. cit. IV, p. 1; Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 215.
160. cf. Monod-Cassidy, op. cit. p. 119 ff; Hauteccœur, op. cit.
IV, p. 46 and 47.
161. Hauteccœur, op. cit. IV, p. 47 - 49.
Fiske Kimball, op. cit. p. 215 ff.
162. Mondain Monval, op. cit. Soufflot, p. 125 ff.
163. Mondain Monval, op. cit. Soufflot, p. 127 ff.
164. Mondain Monval, op. cit. Soufflot, p. 129.



165. cf. Hautecœur, op. cit. IV, p. 49 - 53.
Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Three Revolutionary Architects', p. 445, 446, 448-50, 453.
Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', p. 42, 53, 57, 134, 137, 141, 152, 161, 210.
Sabatier 'Les Siècles littéraires. Les Hommes Illustres de la Provence'.
François de Neufchâteau 'Laugier, Eloge' in the 'Nécrologie des Hommes célèbres', Paris 1770, p. 365.
cf. also 'Biographie Générale' and 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale'.
166. cf. review of Laugier's 'Essai' in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux', March 1753, p. 1069 ff., June 1753, p. 1298 ff., July 1753, p. 1579 ff.
Laugier's reply was printed in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux' in August 1753, p. 1804 ff.
Lafont de Saint Yenne 'Extrait d'un essai sur l'architecture avec quelques remarques sur cette science traité dans l'esprit des Beaux Arts', Paris, 1753.
This small pamphlet was noticed in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux', March 1754, p. 581.
'Examen d'un essai sur l'architecture' n.d., anonymous.
A. F. Frézier 'Réflexions sur divers ouvrages qui traitent de la beauté réelle et constante dans les édifices et de ce qui peut la constituer' read to the Academy, 12th October 1753 - this paper was printed in the 'Mercure de France', July 1754.
In 1754 the Academy reviewed Frézier's criticisms 'sa critique a paru très judicieuse et ses recherches très savantes' quoted Hautecœur, op. cit. III, p. 57.
167. The 2nd edition of Laugier's 'Essai' was noticed in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux', May 1755, p. 1338.
Frézier reviewed this edition of the 'Essay' in the 'Mercure de France' 1755.
The 'Essai' was published in London in 1755 and 1786, in the Hague in 1765 and in Leipzig, in German, in 1768.
168. Julius Schlosser, op. cit. p. 567: Emil Kaufmann, op. cit. 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', p. 95 - 104, and Rudolf Wittkower, op. cit. p. 150 n.3, accept unquestioningly the view that Laugier is to some extent dependent on Palladio and the Italian theorists, Algarotti and Milizia, whereas the reverse seems to be true.

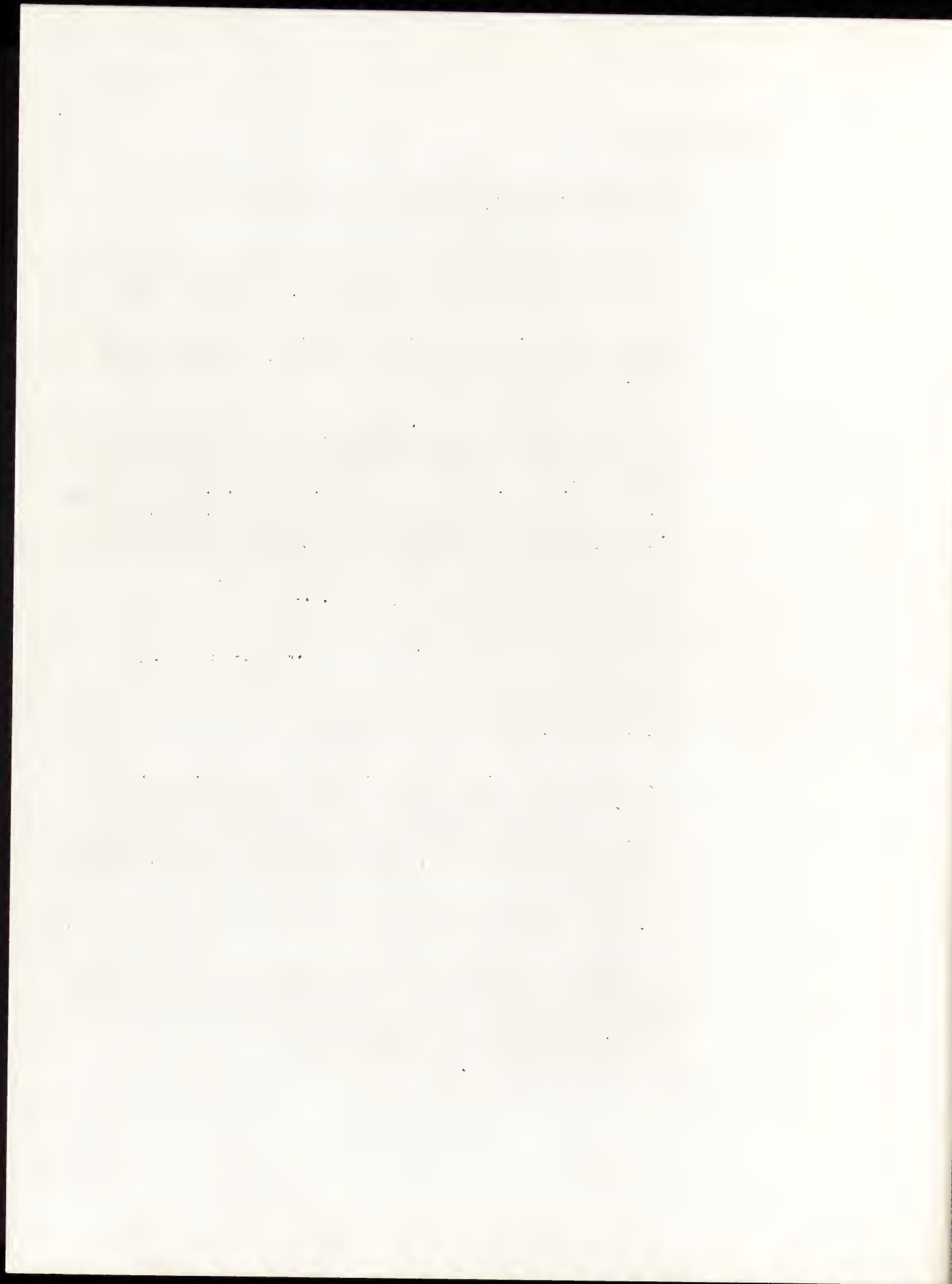


Algarotti's and Milizia's important writings post-date Laugier's 'Essai', and Laugier and Lodoli are clearly related protagonists of Cordemoy's theories. Certainly, the praise that Lodoli delivered to Cordemoy and to Laugier is not the happy reward due to devoted disciples, but the respect accorded to masters. Much of Lodoli's thought is dependent upon, and orientated towards, French opinion. Laugier, moreover, might have introduced the works of Cordemoy to Lodoli, for when, in 1741, Laugier was in Venice collecting material for his 'Histoire de la République de Venise', he most probably met Lodoli - cf. Andrew Memmo 'Elementi dell'architettura Lodoliana - ossia l'arte del fabbricare con solidità scientifica e con eleganza non caricata - Libri due'. Vol. I, Rome 1786, p. 248, n. 5.

cf. in this book references to Cordemoy - p. 100, 102, p. 246-247 (which show that Lodoli was fully aware of Prézier's attack on Cordemoy); Prézier p. 100, 101, 109, 173, 244, 246, 247; Laugier 102, 247 - 50.

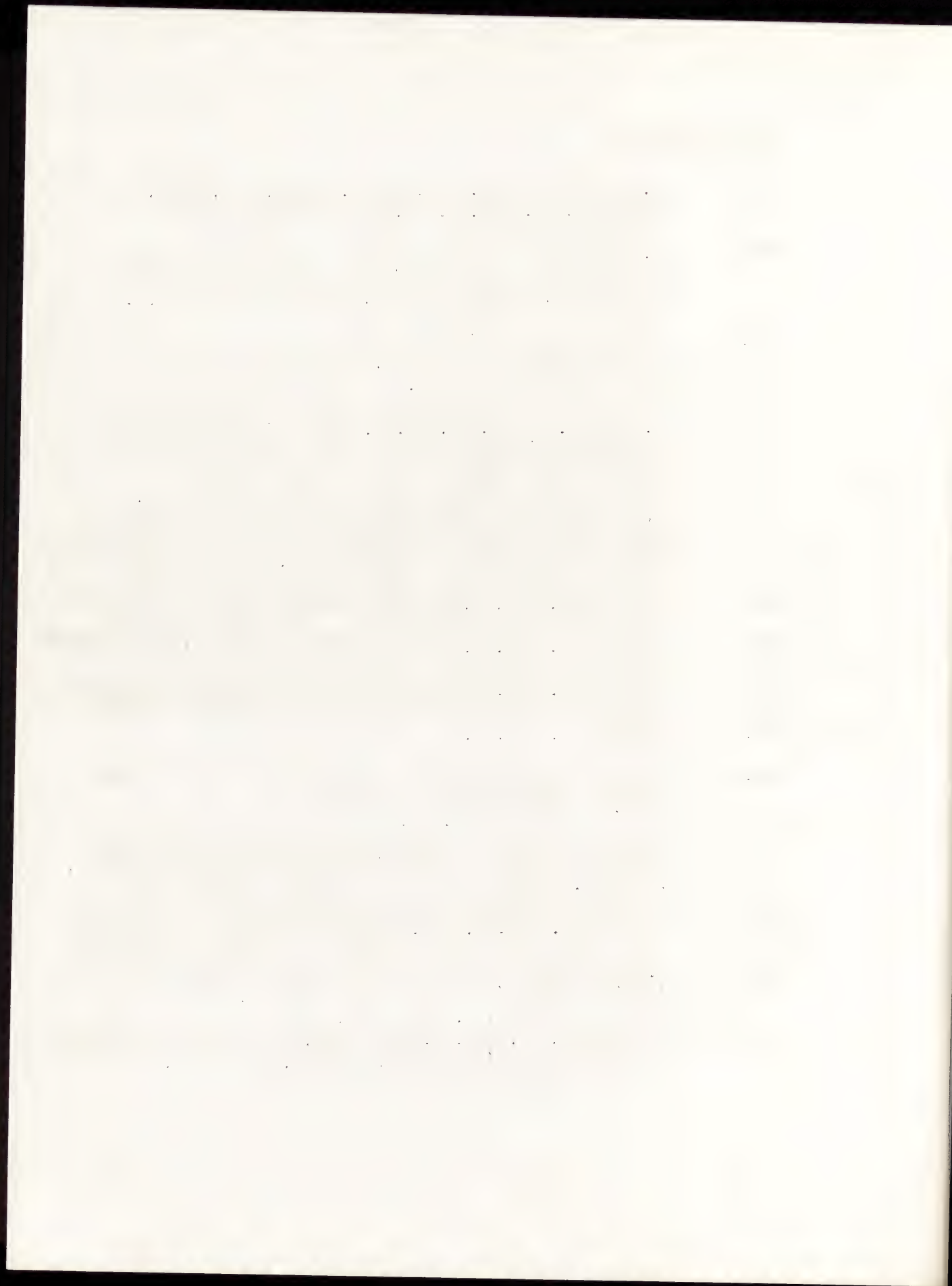
Some idea of Lodoli's general indebtedness to French publications may be seen on p. 7 n. 1. - 'Interno poi alla parte architettonica, che spetta al taglio delle pietre per construire le volte, molti adopravono il metodo matematico. In Francia il P. Deran, nel suo trattato intitolata "L'Architecture des Voutes", Paris 1643, in fol., commentato da M. de la Rue nella storia dell'Accademia Reale delle scienze u'è trattato: de la voute plate di Mr. d'Abeille, nell'anno 1699. Mr. Prézier ne fece uno ancor piu vasto, che ha per titolo: La théorie et la Pratique de la Coupe des Pierres et des Bois, ou Traité de Stereotomie à l'usage de l'architecture, à Strasbourg et à Paris, 1737, tom tre in quarto, altre quanto ne scrisse Mr. Belidor ne suo trattato d'architettura militare molto prima, ed altri, Il Laugier pag. 130 loda molto un trattato di Mr. le Comte d'Espie'.

Hautecoeur and Massimo Petrocchi alone seem to doubt the originality of Lodoli's thought, while though Hautecoeur would adduce Laugier, rather than Cordemoy as its precursor, Petrocchi, though regarding Cordemoy as the innovator and Lodoli as the disciple, claims Lodoli as the teacher of Laugier.



138 (continued)

- cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 50, n.2, p.53-55.
Petrocchi, op. cit. p. 12.
189. cf. John Soane 'Description of the house and Museum on the North Side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Residence of John Soane', London, 1830, p. 32, 1835 edition p.2.
170. 'Mercure de France', 1754 - this is, of course, unlikely to have been literally true. Cordemoy died in 1722, Laugier was born in 1713.
- cf. also A. Memmo, op.cit. p. 173, 'l'Abbé Laugier disse che tutti i moderni architetti del P. Cordemoy in fuori (che fu il suo maestro) non facevano che secondar con confidenza Vitruvio in tutti i suoi vaneggiamenti, e che Mr. de Brissieux perdeva tempo a provare la necessità delle proporzioni, fondandosi su quella pratica, della quale poi non rendeva buone ragioni'.
171. Laugier, op. cit. p.14 (1753 ed.)
172. Laugier, op. cit. p. xvii (1755 ed.) not: - 1753.
173. Laugier, op. cit. p.
174. Laugier, op. cit. p.
175. Guillaumot soon afterwards published his 'Remarques sur un livre intitulé Observations sur l'architecture de l'abbé Laugier par Mr. G', Paris, 1768 in 8° - in which he extolled Contant's design for the Madeleine and refuted most of Laugier's criticisms of the building. p. 49 esp.
176. Laugier, op. cit. p. 117.
177. cf. Pierre Patte 'Observations sur la manière dont sont décorées les extérieures de nos Eglises'. (Mercure de France', May 1755, p. 135 - 143.
Mac Mathieu, op. cit. p. 101 - 103.
'Observateur Littéraire' IV, 1760, p. 289 - 310.

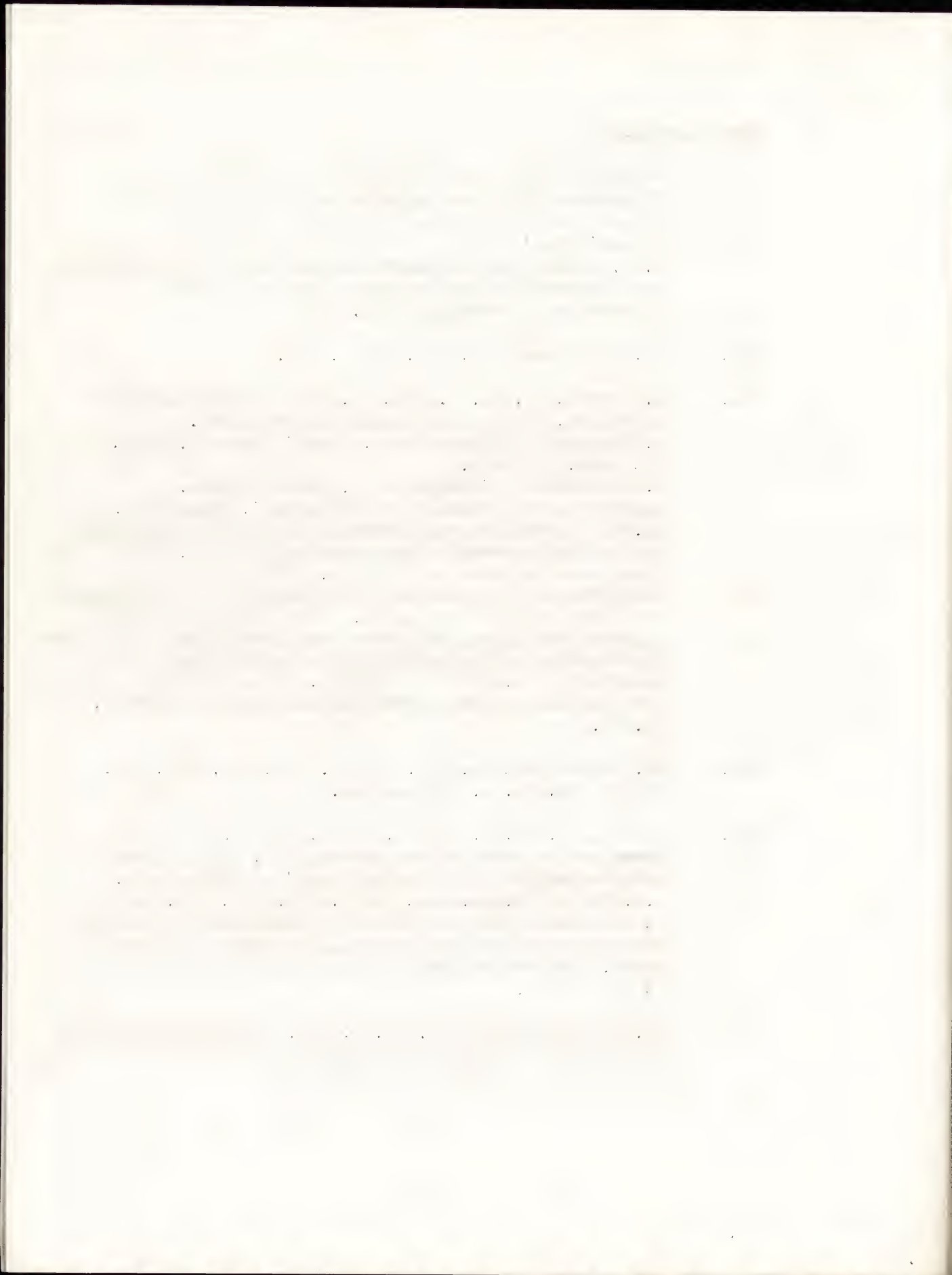


177 (continued)

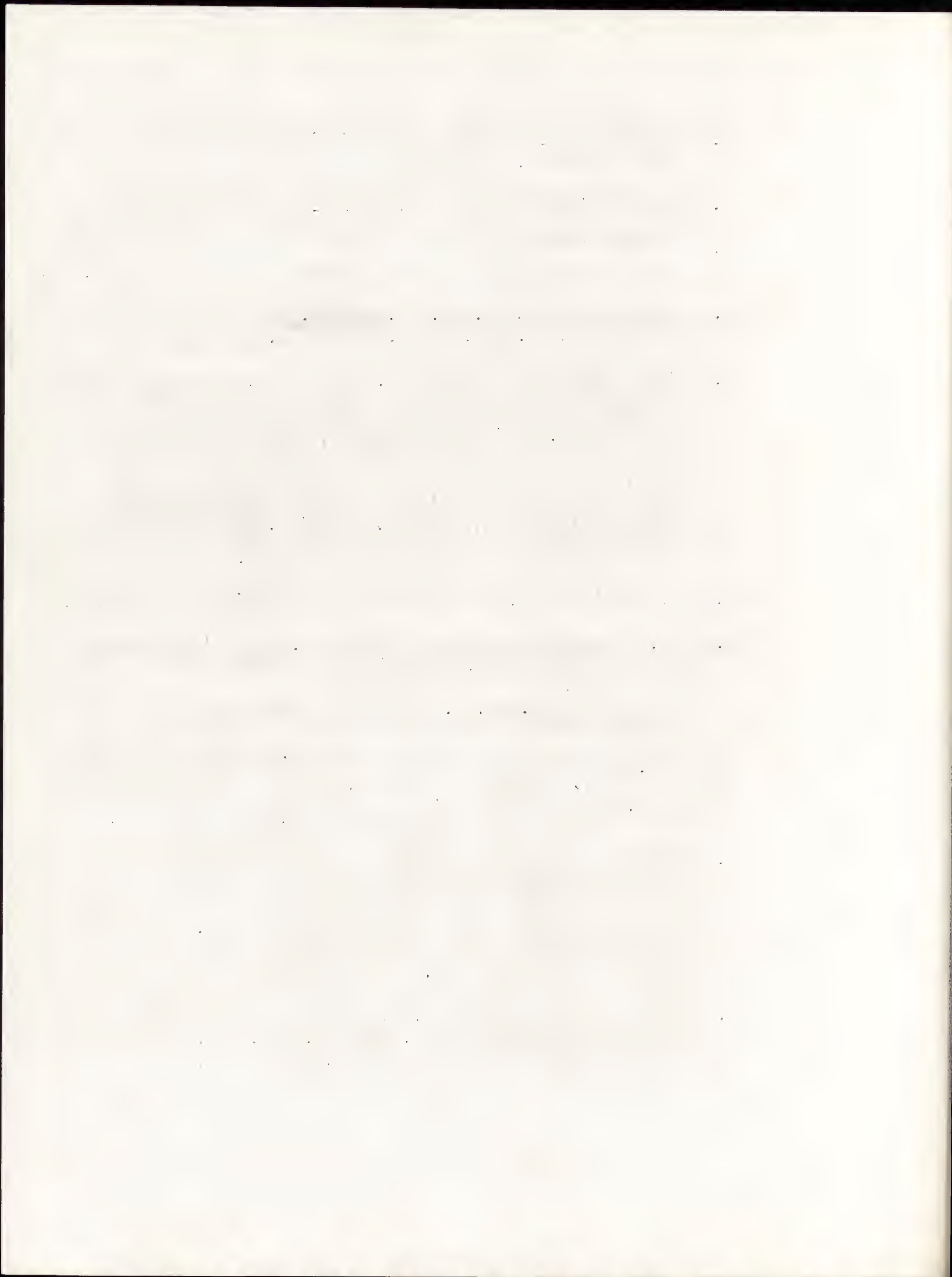
'Prix d'Architecture', Observations de la Société d'amateurs où il est question de l'emplacement de l'autel dans une église moderne au centre ou à l'extrémité.'

C. N. Cochin 'Les Misotechnites aux Enfers, ou examen des Observations sur les arts, par une Société d'amateurs', Amsterdam, 1763.

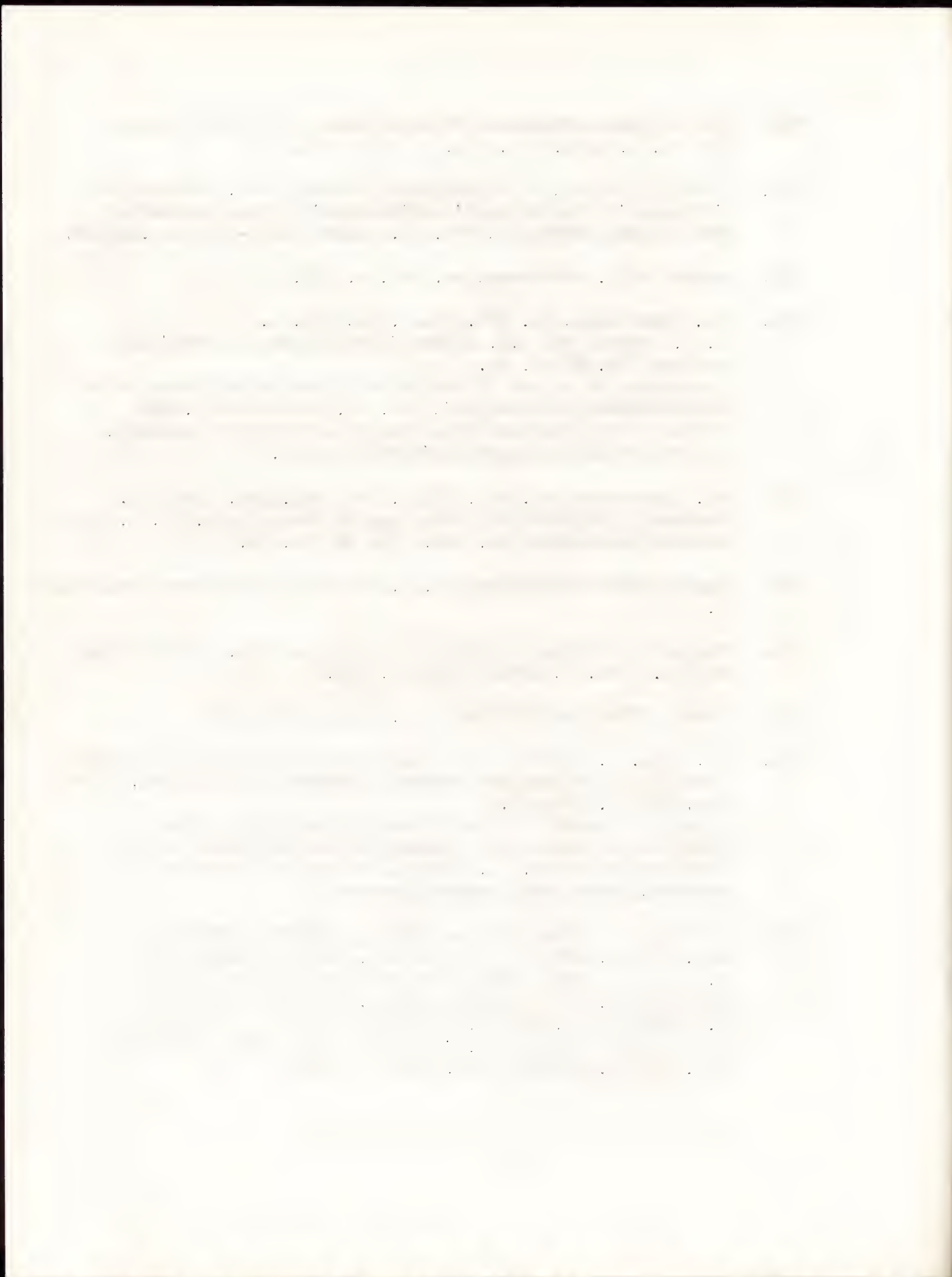
178. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 335.
179. P. Parent, op.cit. p. 181, pl. LVI - the photograph is excellent, but the information given scanty.
A. Terninck 'L'Abbaye de St. Vaast' Arras, I. 1866, II, 1866, III 1868.
E. van Drival 'L'Abbaye de St. Vaast d'Arras. Description et Histoire des Bâtimens', Arras 1877.
(p.36) A petition was addressed to the King asking for permission to rebuild the church on 18th Feb. 1746. These plans were approved on 12th Jan. 1746, by the abbey authorities and during the following months by the mayor and local councillors (p.41). The King straightway approved the plans, and after some trouble was encountered in obtaining adjoining properties ordered their expropriation (p.45) - On 23rd Dec. 1750, the final plans for the church were approved by the 'Conseil d'Etat'. (p.43).
180. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 387, fig. 353, 354.
Parent, op.cit. p. 181 and 185.
181. Parent, op.cit. p. 175, p.177, p.180, pl.LV. Parent gives as the date of this church 1750, but this seems somewhat unlikely in view of Dewez's extreme youth.
A.G. Schayes op.cit. III, 20 ff., 28., IV, 216, 219; V, 218 claims that the cloistral buildings of the Abbey were begun in 1740 by Dubressi, but were taken over by Dewez. The whole Abbey, including the church, was complete by 1764.
182. cf. Mondain Monval, op.cit. p. 534. Hauteceur suggests however that the plans were not approved until March 1764.
op.cit. III, p. 502-4, fig. 501, 502.



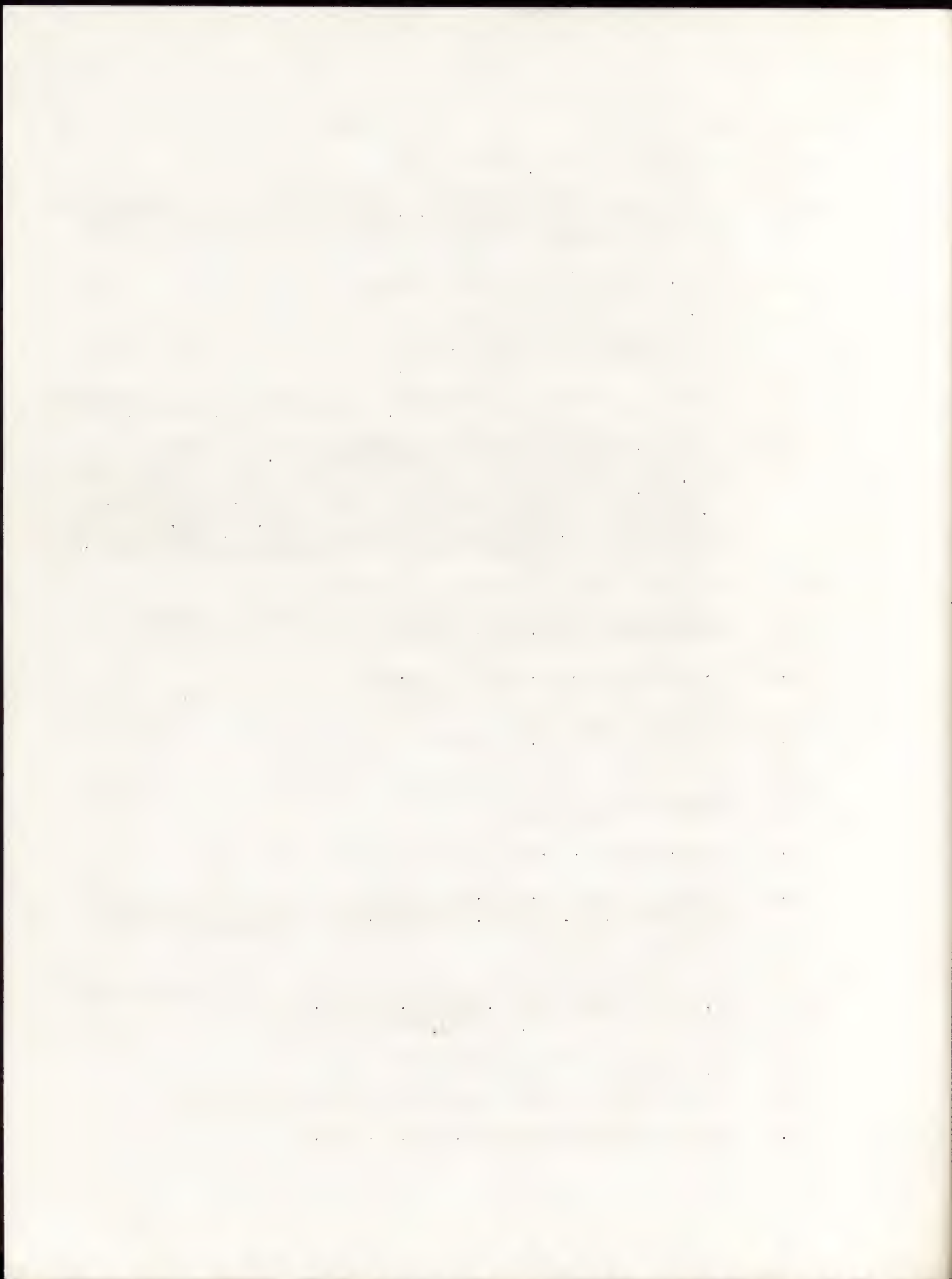
183. Pierre Patte. 'Monuments érigés à la Gloire de Louis XV', Paris, 1765, p.4, 7, 126-128. Pl. IX, X, XI.
184. Laugier 'Observations' op. cit. p.
185. Laugier 'Discours sur le rétablissement de l'architecture antique', Paris 1760, quoted Mondain Monval, op.cit. p.506.
186. Mondain Monval, op.cit., p. 435 ff.
Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 188 - 196.
187. 'The Ruins of Baalbek' by R. Wood and J. Dawkins, from which Mondain Monval assumes Soufflot to have derived his church front, was not published until 1757; admittedly 'The Ruins of Palmyra' were printed in 1753, and might have influenced Soufflot, but Jean Marot in his 'Architecture Française' had engraved seventeen somewhat curious plates of Baalbek, and Bernard de Montfaucon in his 'Antiquités Expliquées', had included two fine plates on the temple of Baalbek.
188. H. Focillon, op. cit. 'Catalogue Raisonné', p. 12, no.10.
189. cf. Grimm 'Correspondence' 15th Dec.1757 - 'des censures contre Ste. Geneviève dès la publication des Plans'.
Mae Mathieu op.cit. p. 182 ff for an account of the quarrel between Soufflot and Desboeufs, after the publication of his scurrilous attack. 'Mémoire concernant des observations sur la disposition de la nouvelle église de Ste. Geneviève, par un des élèves de l'Académie royale d'Architecture', The Hague 1765.
190. The careers of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett have been ably described by Lesley Lawrence - 'Stuart and Revett: their literary and architectural careers' - in the Journal of the Warburg Institute, Vol. II, London 1938-39, and much of the information that follows is taken from this article.
191. Professor Pevsner and Dr. S. Lang in 'Apollo or Baboon', Architectural Review, Vol. 104, no. 624. Dec.1948, mention another proposal of 1748, cf. p. 274.
192. published first in 1761.



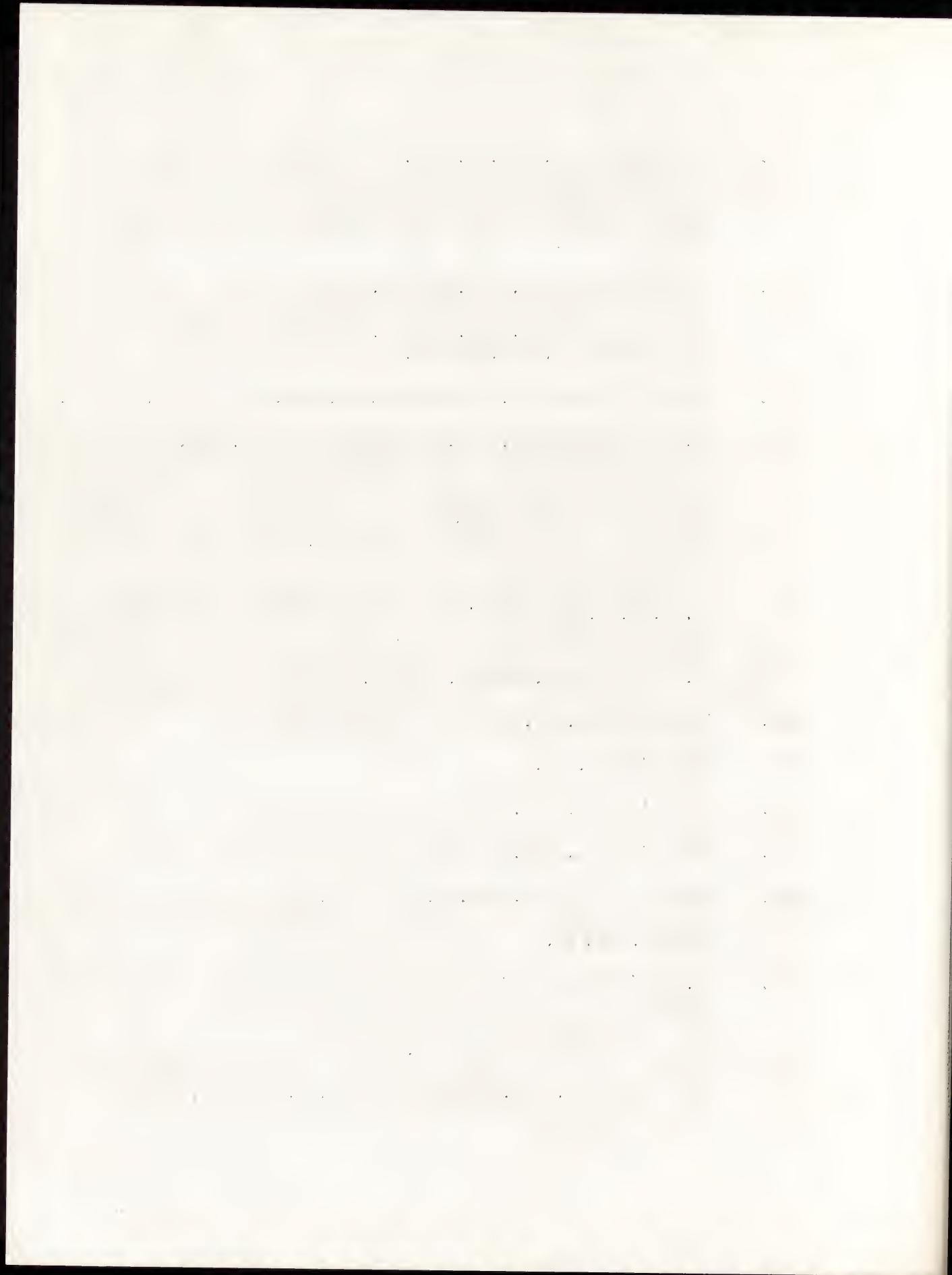
193. For a fuller discussion of these works cf. Prof. Pevsner and Dr. S. Lang. op. cit. p. 273 - 274.
194. In what follows, I am very much indebted to R. Wittkower's 'Piranesi's "Parere su l'Architettura"', in the Journal of the Warburg Institute, Vol. II. London 1938 - 1939, p.147 ff.
195. quoted by R. Wittkower, op. cit. p. 151.
196. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 23, fig. 9.
J. G. Legrand and C.P. Landon 'Description de Paris' 1806 edition I p.137 pl. 30.
Quatremère de Quincy 'Histoire de la vie et des Ouvrages des Plus célèbres Architectes', Vol. II. Paris 1830 p. 324 writes of the Convent de la Charité - 'ce petit monument, le premier du style grec exécuté à Paris'.
197. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 300, 301. fig. 164, 165.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the age of Reason', op.cit. p. 170.
Legrand and Landon, op. cit. III, 51, pl. 12.
198. quoted Fiske Kimball op cit. p. 232; and Hauteceur, op.cit.IV, p. 58.
199. 'Letters of Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann.' Concluding series. Vol. I, London 1843, p. 195.
200. Cochin 'Mémoires Inédites', op. cit. p. 142, 143.
201. cf. Mlle. J. Duportail 'Le Cours d'Architecture de Desgodets', Revue de l'art Français ancien et Moderne', XXVI, Aug. 1914-Oct. 1919 p. 153 - 7.
A copy of Desgodets's unpublished manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale; another is in the library of the Institut de France. G. Samuel, in London, possesses a further, incomplete, copy of the work.
202. 'Mémoires de Trévoux' Oct. 1758 p. 2456 ff; 2534 ff; Nov. 1758 p. 2743 ff; Feb. 1759 p. 438 ff; March 1759 p. 604 ff; April 1759 p. 806 ff; May 1759 p. 1245 ff; July 1759 p. 1577 ff; Aug. 1759 p. 2045 ff; Oct. 1759 p. 2374 ff; Jan. 1760 p. 36 ff; p. 330 ff; April 1760 p. 1015 ff; July 1760 p. 1647 ff; Sept. 1760 p. 2138 ff; Nov. 1760 p. 811 ff; Dec. 1760 p. 2957.



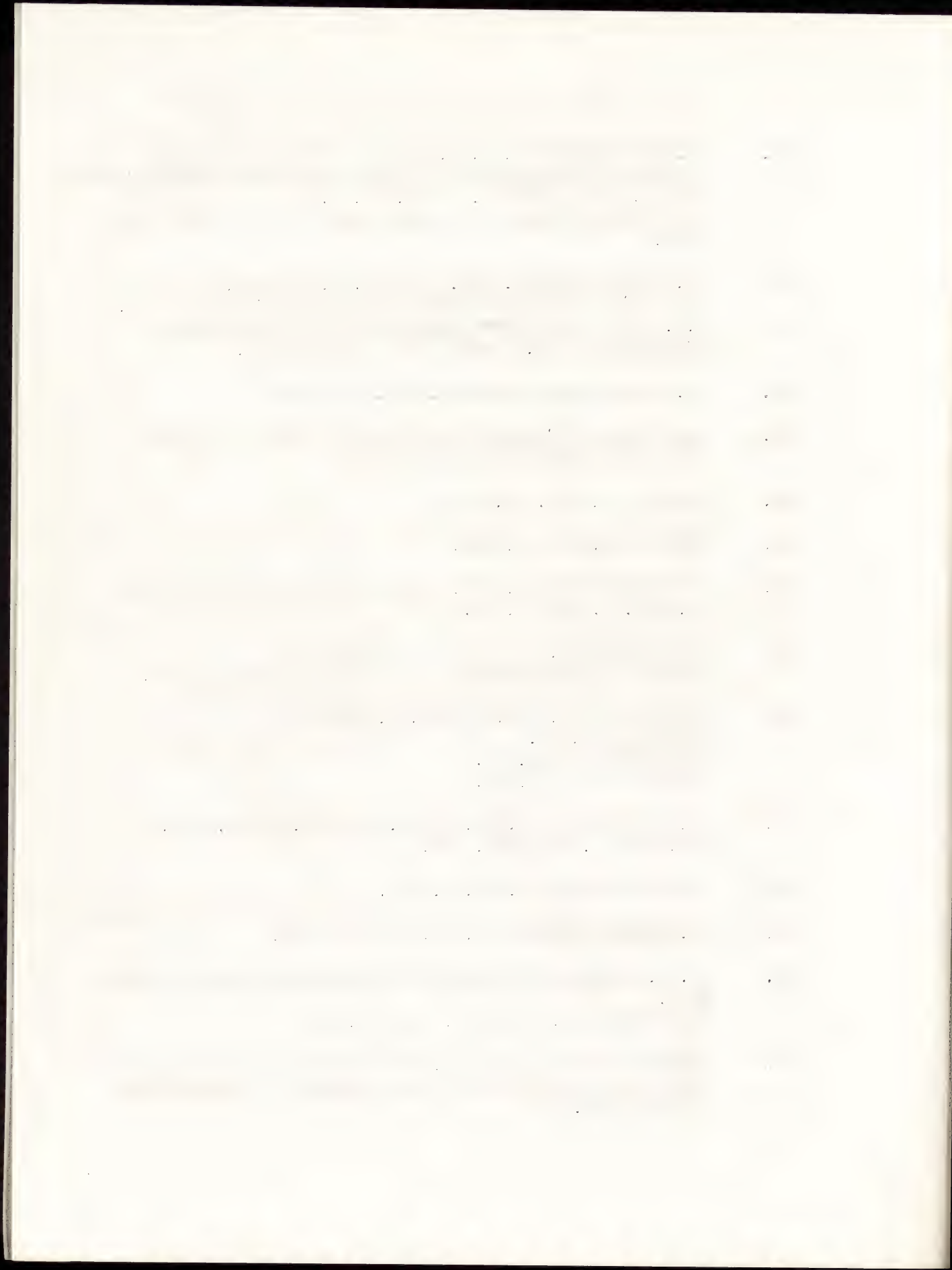
203. cf. Mondain Monval, op. cit. 448 ff.
204. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. III, IV.
205. To this list one might add C.E. Briseux's 'L'Art de Bien Bâtir', Paris 1728, 'L'Art de Bâtir des maisons de campagne' Paris 1743; and his 'Traité du Beau essentiel', Paris 1752 and B. Belidor's 'Sommaire d'un Cours d'Architecture militaire, civile et hydraulique', Paris 1720; 'La Science des Ingénieurs dans la conduite des travaux de fortifications, et d'architecture civile', Paris 1729; and his 'Traité des Fortifications' Paris 1735.
206. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. III, p. 522-528; IV p.174-177.
207. Le Sage 'Notice pour servir à l'éloge de M. Perronet', Paris 1805.
Dartien 'Les Ponts Français du XVIII^e siècle', Paris 1907.
'Génie Civil', July 17th, 1897 Vol. XXXI, p. 177 ff.
Baron de Prony 'Notice historique sur Perronet', Paris 1829.
208. cf. Hauteceur op. cit. IV, p. 62 - 66.
209. Mondain Monval, op. cit. Chapter II.
210. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 64; III p. 183.
Blondel 'Cours', op. cit. VI, Chapter II, p. 84 ff.
211. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 349.
212. Pierre Patte 'Monuments Erigés en France à la Gloire de Louis XV', Paris, 1765, p. 7.
213. Patte, op. cit. p. 4, 7, 126 ff. Pl. XI, X, XI.
214. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 442 ff.
Mac Mathieu, op. cit. p. 132, 133.
215. Patte, op. cit. p. 7.
216. cf. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 445 ff.
Mac Mathieu op. cit. p. 181.
217. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV.
Fiske Kimball, op. cit.
218. quoted Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 446.



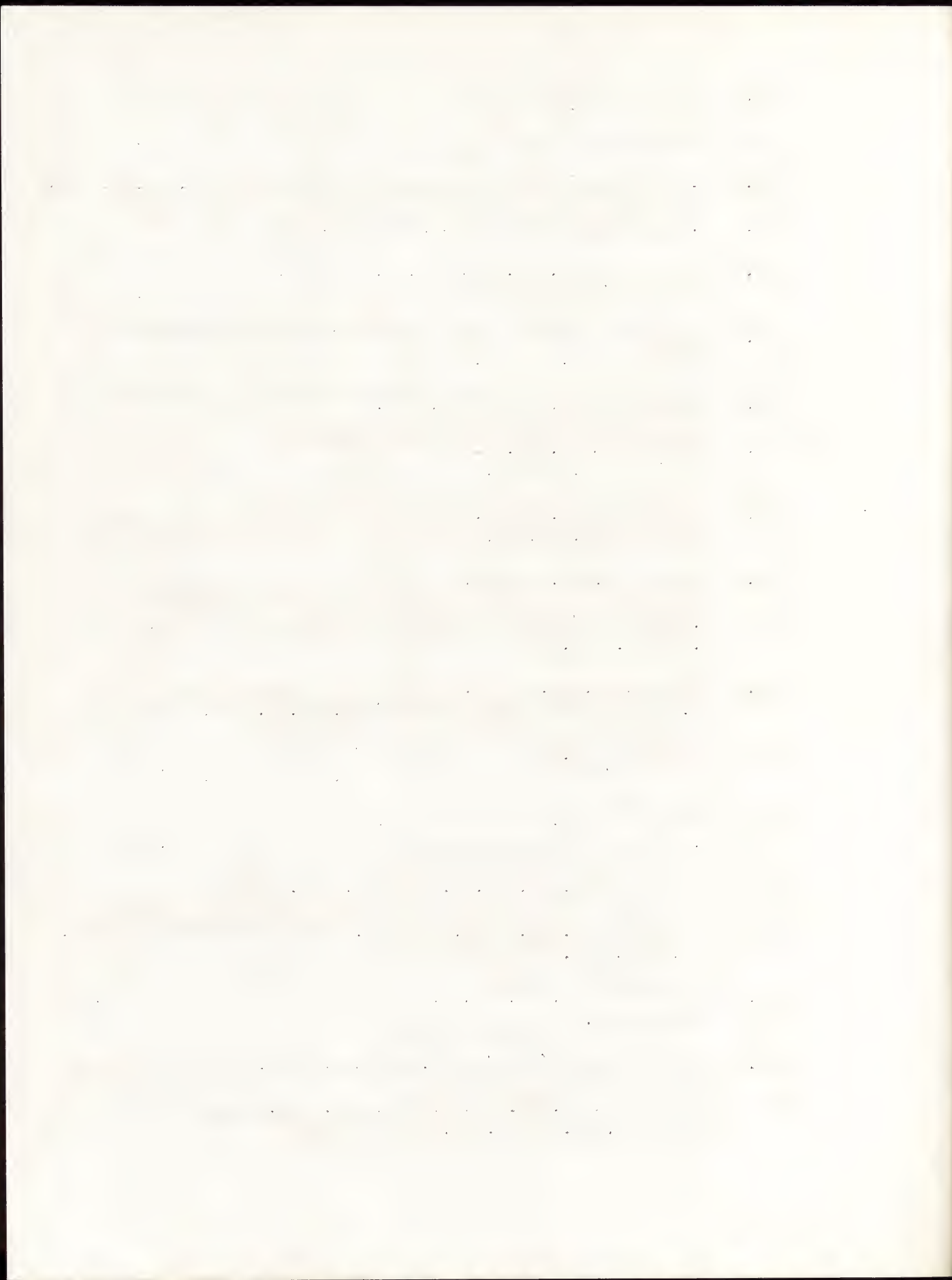
219. Mac Mathieu, op. cit. p. 182.
220. For all information regarding Pierre Patte I am extensively indebted to Mac Mathieu, whose excellent study can hardly be overpraised.
221. Mondain Monval, op. cit. 472 ff.
222. Mondain Monval, op. cit. 450 ff.
Mac Mathieu, op. cit. 185 ff.
223. Briland Gauthey, cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, esp. p. 205-207.
224. cf. Mac Mathieu, op. cit. appendix H, esp. p. 390.
Mac Mathieu suggests, very tentatively, that the anonymous pamphlet 'Lettre d'un graveur en Architecture à M. Patte', published in 1770, in both Paris and Amsterdam, be assigned to Dumont; but the attribution, on Barbier's authority, to Rondelet, in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale is more plausible.
225. cf. A. J. B. Rondelet 'Notice Historique sur l'Eglise de Sainte Geneviève', Paris 1852.
226. cf. 'Cours' V, p. 387 Pl. LXXXII.
227. 'Cours' VI, p. 48.
228. 'Cours' V, p. 87.
229. 'Cours' VI, p. 517.
230. 'Cours' VI, p. 519.
231. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 460; cf. also the Abbé Maior's opinion on Wren in 'Temples Anciens et Modernes', Paris 1774, p. 278 ff.
232. cf. René Schneider 'Quatrième de Quincy et son intervention dans les Arts, 1789-1830', Paris 1910, p. 33 ff.
233. Mac Mathieu, op. cit. 260 ff.
234. Mac Mathieu op. cit. Appendix H, esp. p. 395-397.
235. quoted Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 463.



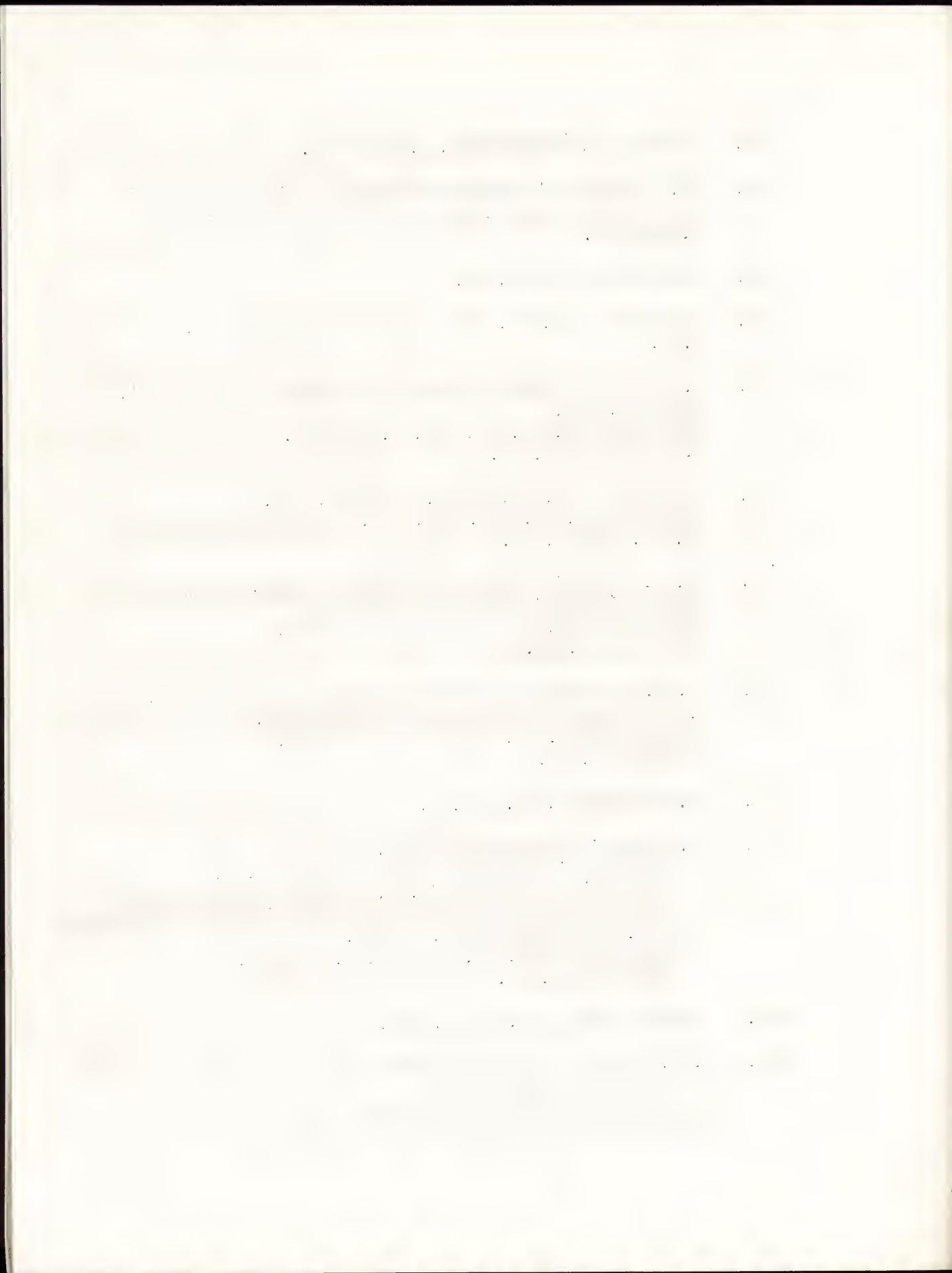
236. cf. for instance J. N. L. Durand's 'Précis des Leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Royale Polytechnique' Vol. I. Paris 1823 p. 21 ff. Pl. I.
The first edition of this work was printed in 1802 and 1805.
237. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, esp. p. 212-219.
Quatremère de Quincy 'Notice sur Chalgrin', Paris 1816.
C.F. Viel 'Notice sur Chalgrin in the 'Principes de l'Ordonnance etc.' Paris 1797 - 1814 Vol. V.
238. cf. Legrand and Landon op. cit. I, p. 130.
239. Paul Parent 'L'Architecture des Pays Bas Méridionaux. XVI - XVIII siècles', Paris 1925.
240. Parent, op. cit. Pl. XXX.
241. Parent, op. cit. p. 161.
242. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 215 fig. 101 and Parent op. cit. p. 180 Pl. LV.
243. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, esp. p. 219-220.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op. cit.
244. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, esp. p. 207-209.
Kaufmann, op. cit.
Fiske Kimball, op. cit.
Thieme-Becker, op. cit.
245. cf. Hauteceur, op. cit. IV, p. 433 fig. 277; p. 440, fig. 284; p. 441, fig. 285.
246. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 127.
247. cf. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 127 - 129.
248. cf. L. Palustre 'l'Ancienne Cathédrale de Rennes', Paris 1894.
Hauteceur, op. cit. VI, p. 216 fig. 192.
249. Mondain Monval, op. cit. p. 128 - but cf. the footnote on this same page which dates the approval of the plans as May 9th 1764.



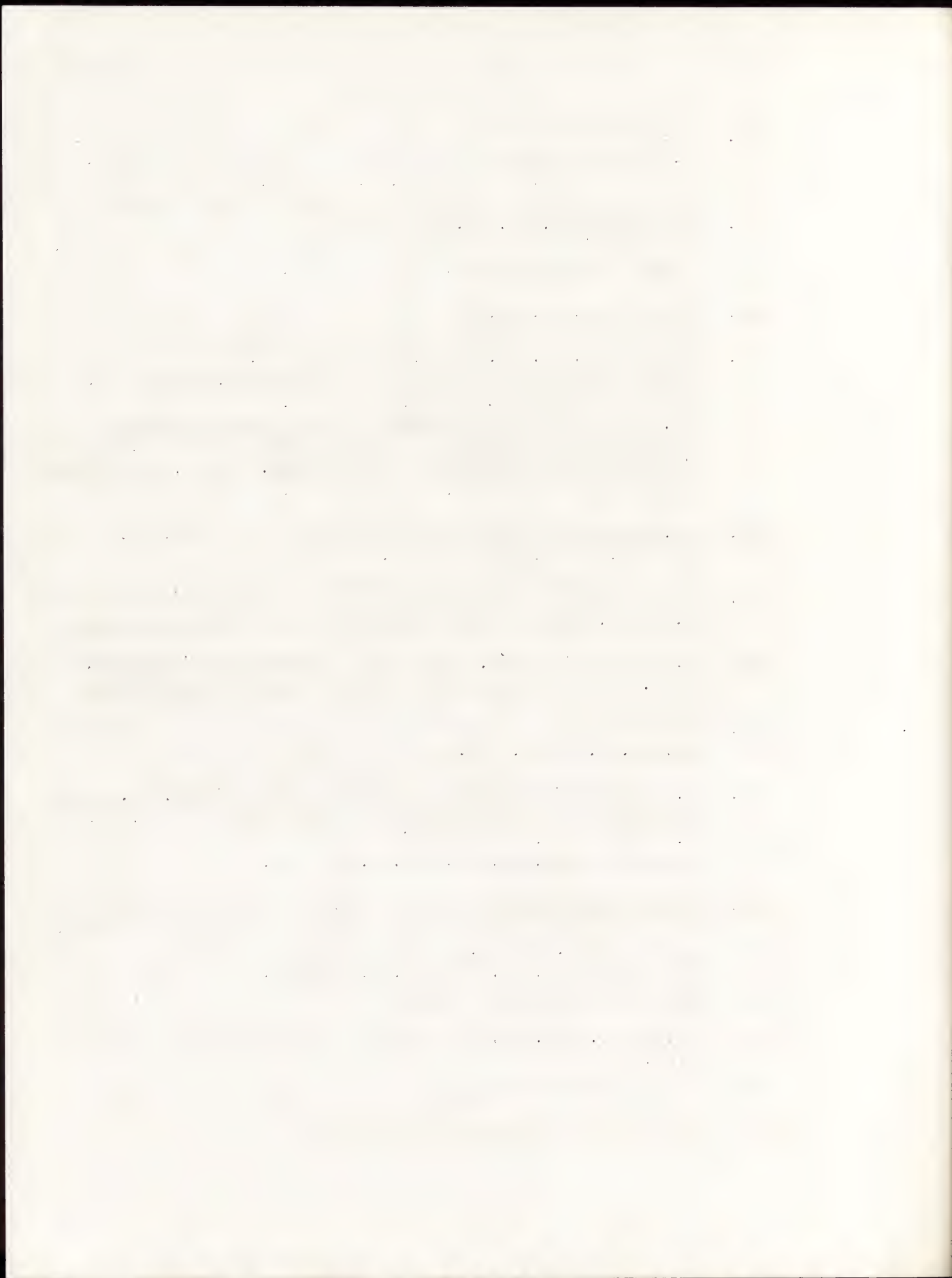
250. Gourlier, Riet, Grillon and Tardieu 'Choix d'édifices publics projetés et construits en France depuis le commencement du XIX^{ème} siècle', Paris 1825-1850, Vol. III.
251. E. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects', op.cit. p. 436.
252. G. Chénousseau, op.cit. p. 271 - 290.
253. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 309-314.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op.cit.
254. The information on Chalgrin is derived chiefly from Hautecoeur op.cit. IV.
255. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 216.
256. Hautecoeur, op.cit. V.
Gourlier, op.cit. II.
257. Hautecoeur, op.cit. V.
Gourlier, op.cit. II.
258. 'Cours' op.cit. IV loc.
259. E. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects' op.cit. p. 446 n. 174.
260. 'Cours', op.cit. I 108.
cf. also Laugier 'Observations' op.cit. p. 196.
261. Hautecoeur op.cit. IV; Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason'; Legrand and Landon, op.cit. III, p. 29.
262. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 225-232, V.
E. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op.cit.
263. Hautecoeur op.cit. IV. p. 226 fig. 106.
264. Hautecoeur op.cit. IV p. 227 fig. 107, 108; Kaufmann op.cit. fig. 100, 101.
265. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 227 fig. 109; Kaufmann op.cit. fig. 98, 99.
266. 'Mémoires de Trévoux' Sept. 1709, p. 1619.
267. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 230, fig. 110. Legrand and Landon op.cit. IV, p. 21.



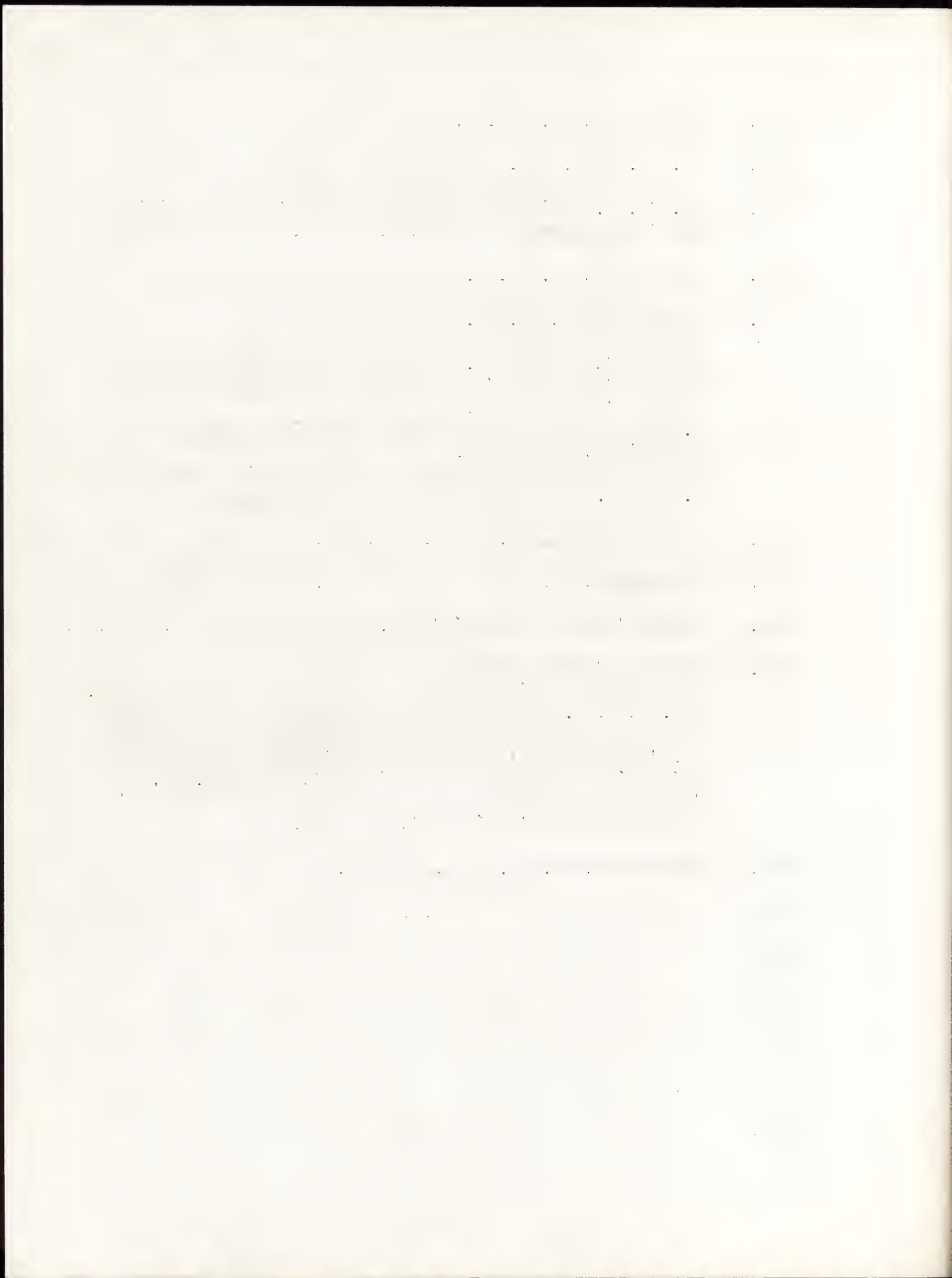
268. 'Cours' IV, Chapter III, p.185 - 331.
269. cf. Tournemine's review of Cordemoy's 'Nouveau Traité sur l'Architecture', Journal de Trévoux, Sept. 1706, p. 1523 ff.
270. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV.
271. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV; Legrand and Landon, op.cit. II, p.89.
272. J. Lavallée 'Notice Historique sur Charles de Wailly', Paris An. VII.
Hautecoeur op.cit. IV, esp. p. 232-242.
E. Kaufmann, op.cit.
273. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 241, fig. 118.
Kaufmann, op.cit. fig. 102. cf. also Legrand and Landon op.cit. III, p. 91.
274. cf. J. Stern 'A l'ombre de Sophie Arnould, François-Joseph Bélanger', Paris 1930, 2 vols.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 302-309.
Kaufmann, op.cit.
275. cf. J. Silvestre de Sacy 'A. T. Brongniart' Paris 1940.
L. de Launay 'Les Brongniart', Paris 1944.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 297-302.
Kaufmann op.cit.
276. cf. Hautecoeur, op. cit. V.
277. cf. Renou 'Notice sur Antoine'.
Lassault 'Notice sur Antoine' Paris An. X.
Quatremère de Quincy 'J. D. Antoine' in the 'Histoire de la vie et des Ouvrages des Plus Célèbres Architectes' Vol. II, Paris 1830 p. 321 ff.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 247-260.
Kaufmann op.cit.
278. Mondain Monval, op.cit. p. 499.
279. J. D. Antoine 'Plans des Divers étages et coupes de l'Hôtel des Monnaies', Paris 1826.
F. Mazerolle 'l'Hôtel des Monnaies', Paris 1907.
Legrand and Landon, op.cit. III, p. 81.



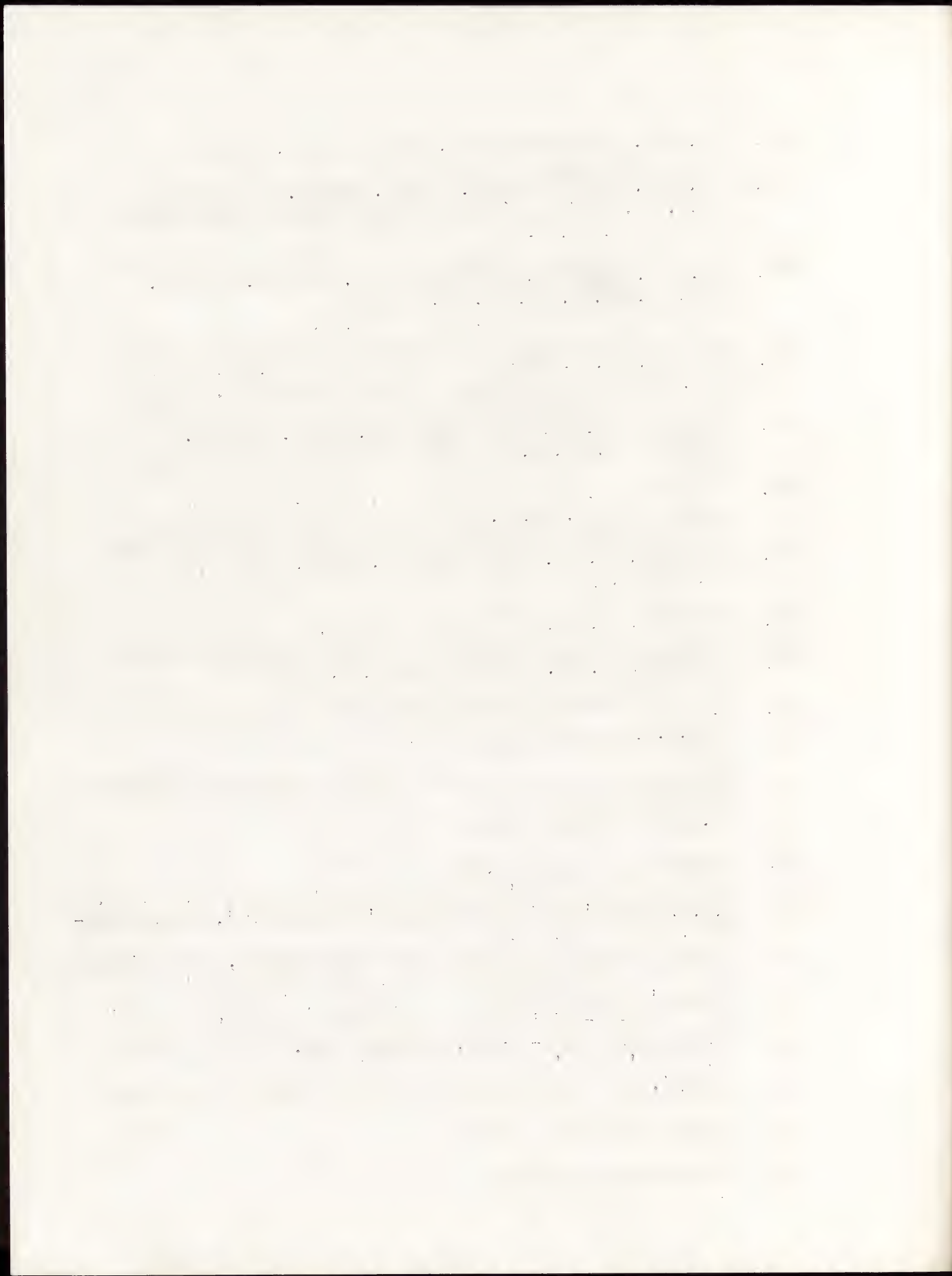
280. cf. E. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects', op.cit.
E. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op.cit.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 221-225.
281. Hautecoeur op.cit. IV.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op.cit. p. 182.
Legrand and Landon, op.cit. I, p. 133.
282. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 222 fig. 104.
283. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 223, fig. 105.
Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects' p. 459 fig. 14.
Legrand and Landon, op.cit. IV, p. 39.
cf. with this House Brongniart's more famous Hôtel de
Saint Foix, Rue Basse du Rempart, built in 1775 - E. Kaufmann
'Architecture in the Age of Reason' fig. 162; p. 169;
Legrand and Landon, op.cit. IV, p. 21.
284. cf. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects' op.cit.
467 fig. 37; p. 468, fig. 45.
285. quoted Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects', op.cit.
p. 467 n. 385
286. H. Rosenau 'Boullée. Treatise on Architecture', London,
1953.
287. quoted in part in Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects'
op.cit. p. 470 n. 395.
288. E. Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects', op.cit.
E. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason', op.cit.
H. Raval and J. C. Moreau 'Ledoux', Paris 1945.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 270-287.
289. Quatremère de Quincy 'Jacques Gondoin 'Histoire de la
vie et des Ouvrages des Plus Célèbres Architectes', Vol. II.
Paris 1830 p. 329 ff.
Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, esp. p. 242-247.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason' op.cit.
290. op.cit. p. 332. cf. also Legrand and Landon, op.cit. III,
p. 63.



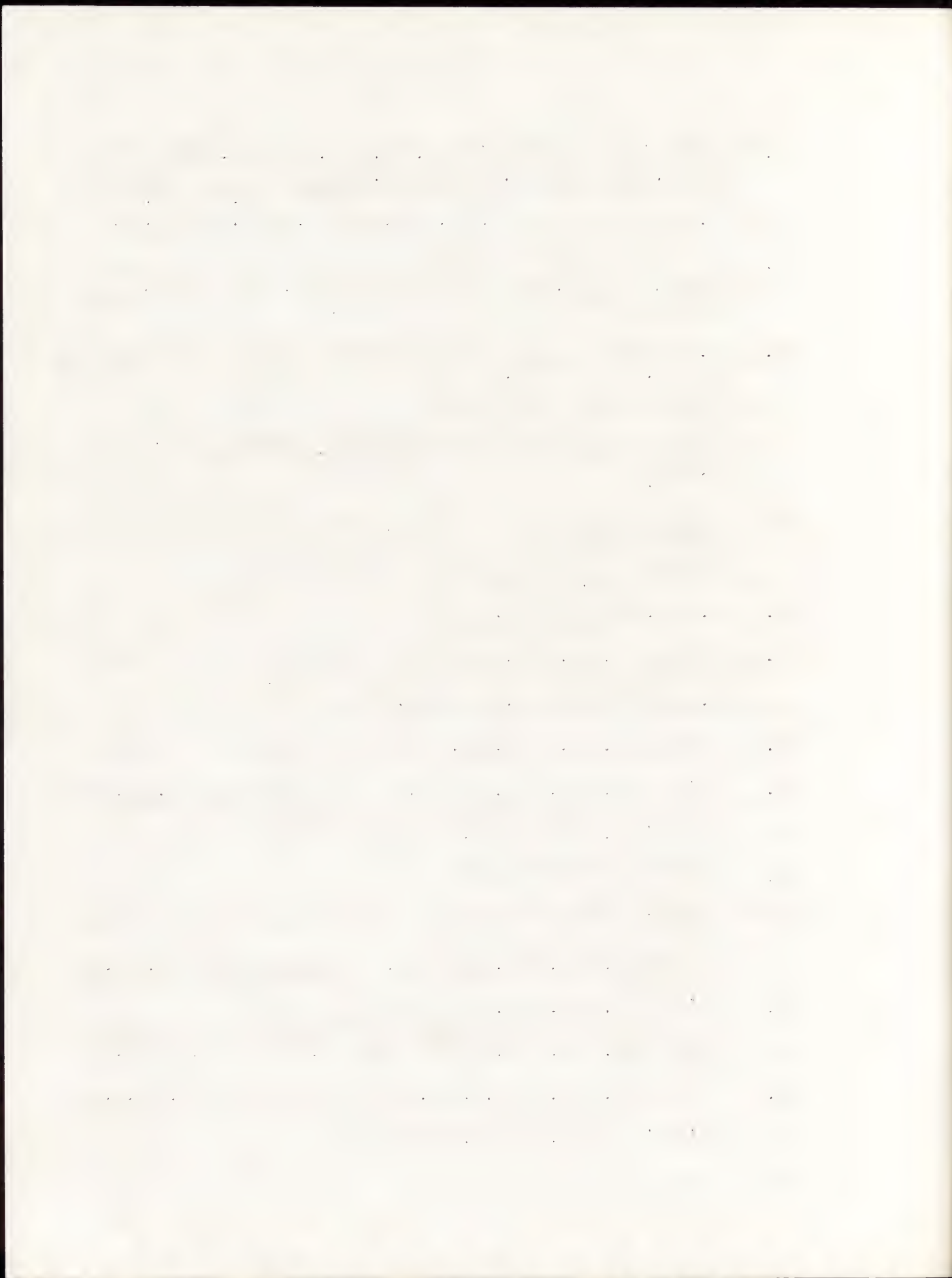
291. Hautecoeur, op. cit. V.
292. op.cit. V, p. 119.
293. cf. 'J. B. Lepère: Notice Biographique' - Revue Générale de l'Architecture, V, 1944, p. 367 ff.
294. Hautecoeur, op.cit. V.
295. Thiers Becker, op.cit.
Vandoyer 'Discours Nécrologique sur la tombe de Jean Rondelet', Paris 1829.
Baltard 'Discours nécrologique sur la tombe de Jean Rondelet', Paris 1829.
A. Rondelet 'Notice Historique sur l'Eglise de Sainte Geneviève', Paris 1852.
Albert Scubies 'Les Membres de l'Académie' Paris 1904, Vol.I, p. 192 ff.
296. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 204, 350.
297. Hautecoeur, op.cit. IV, p. 205, 347.
298. Landon 'Annales du Musée' Vol. XIII Paris 1807, p.13 pl.12.
299. Gourlier 'Notice Historique sur le service des Travaux et sur le conseil général des bâtiments civils', Paris 1886. Vol. I, p.11.
300. cf. 'Rapport sur la situation de l'Ecole Polytechnique présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur', Paris An. IX.
'Rapport sur la situation de l'Ecole Polytechnique présenté au Ministre de l'intérieur', Paris An. XI.
301. Hautecoeur, op.cit. V, p. 263-267.
302. op.cit. 1812 edition I, p.1.
303. op. cit. 1812 edition I, introduction.
304. op. cit. 1812 edition I p.V.
305. op. cit. 1812 edition I, p. 7.
306. op. cit. 1812 edition I p. V.
307. op. cit. 1812 edition IV, p. 77 ff.



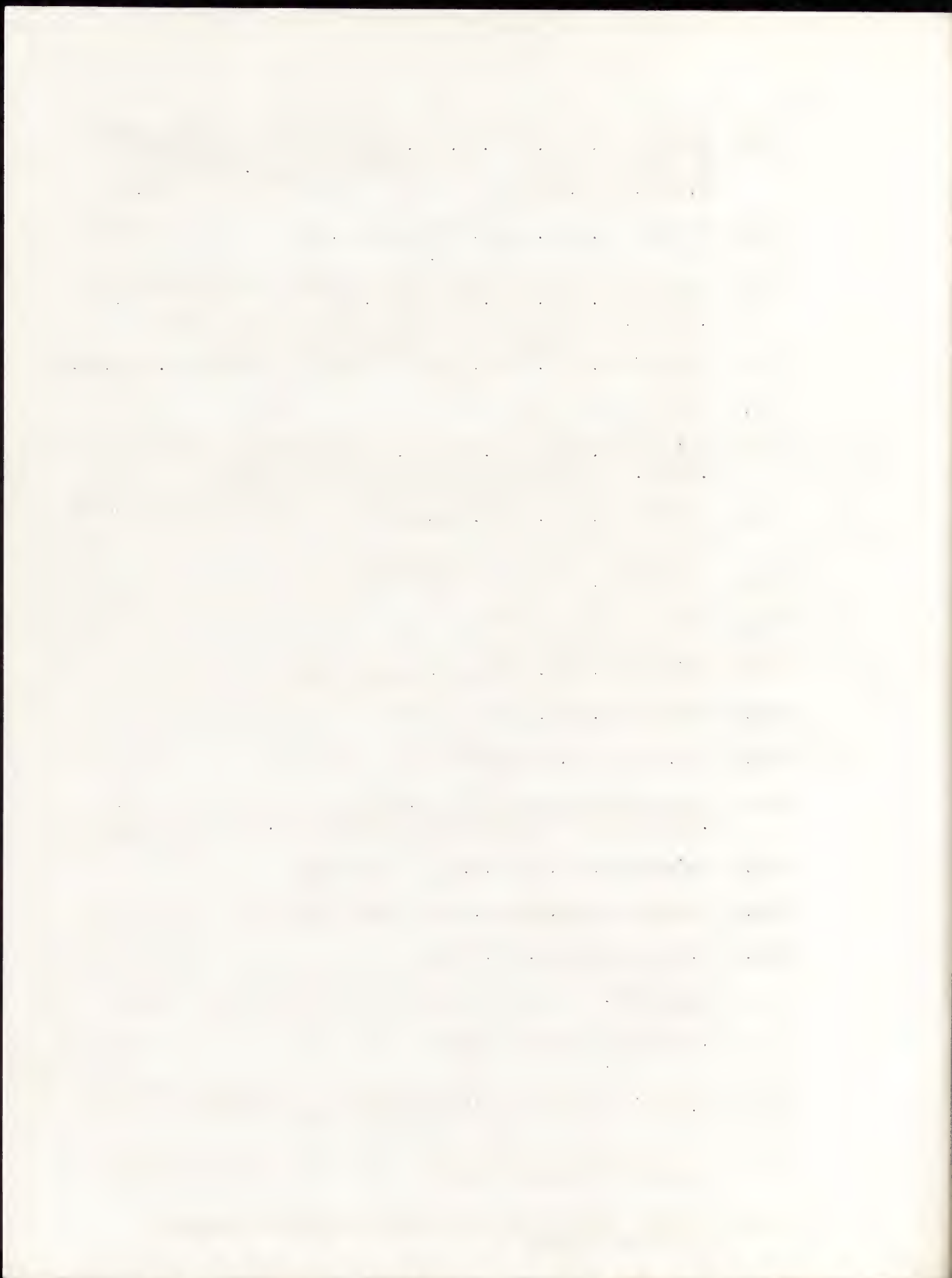
308. op. cit. 1812 edition pls. CLXXV, CLXXVI.
309. op. cit. 1812 edition p. 124 pl. CLXXIV.
Ch. L. Gr. Eck 'Traité de Construction en Poteries et Fer',
Paris 1836., p. 51.
310. op. cit. Rondelet, 1812 edition, p. 123, pl. CLXXIII.
Eck, op. cit. p. 50. pl. 51.
Legrand and Landon, op. cit. III, p. 89.
311. Eck, op. cit. p. 50 - but cf. Hauteceur op. cit. IV p. 263,
fig. 131 where the trusses are shown in timber.
312. Rondelet, op. cit. 1812 edition, p. 129 pl. CLXXVII.
Gourlier op. cit. I.
313. Rondelet, op. cit. 1812 edition p. 130 pl. CLXXVIII.
Hauteceur, op. cit. V.
314. Rondelet, op. cit. 1812 edition p. 116 pl. CLXXI; p. 122
pl. CLXXII.
315. Rondelet, op. cit. 1812 edition, p. 142.
316. Rondelet, op. cit. 1812 edition, p. 77.
317. A. Rondelet 'Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages
de J.N.L. Durand', Paris 1835; this notice was translated
into English and printed in London in 1837; it appeared
first in the Journal des Lettres et des Beaux Arts', Paris
1835 Vol. I, p. 101 ff.
cf. also 'Moniteur', Jan. 6th 1835.
318. Legrand and Landon, op. cit. IV, p. 37.
Krafft and Thiollet 'Choix des Maisons' op. cit. pl. 83, 84.
J.N.L. Durand 'Precis des Leçons d'Architecture', Paris 1802 -
1805, Vol. II pl. 23.
Durand designed also two or three other houses, but it is
not certain that they were built, cf. L.P. Normand 'Paris
Moderne' Paris 1837, Vol. I, pl. 14, 15. 'Maison à Chessy,
près Lagny-en-Brie', designed in 1816; pl. 143 'Maison à
Thiais près Choisy-le-Roi, designed 1825.
cf. also 'Precis' op. cit. II pl. 31 for the 'Maison à
Chessy'.



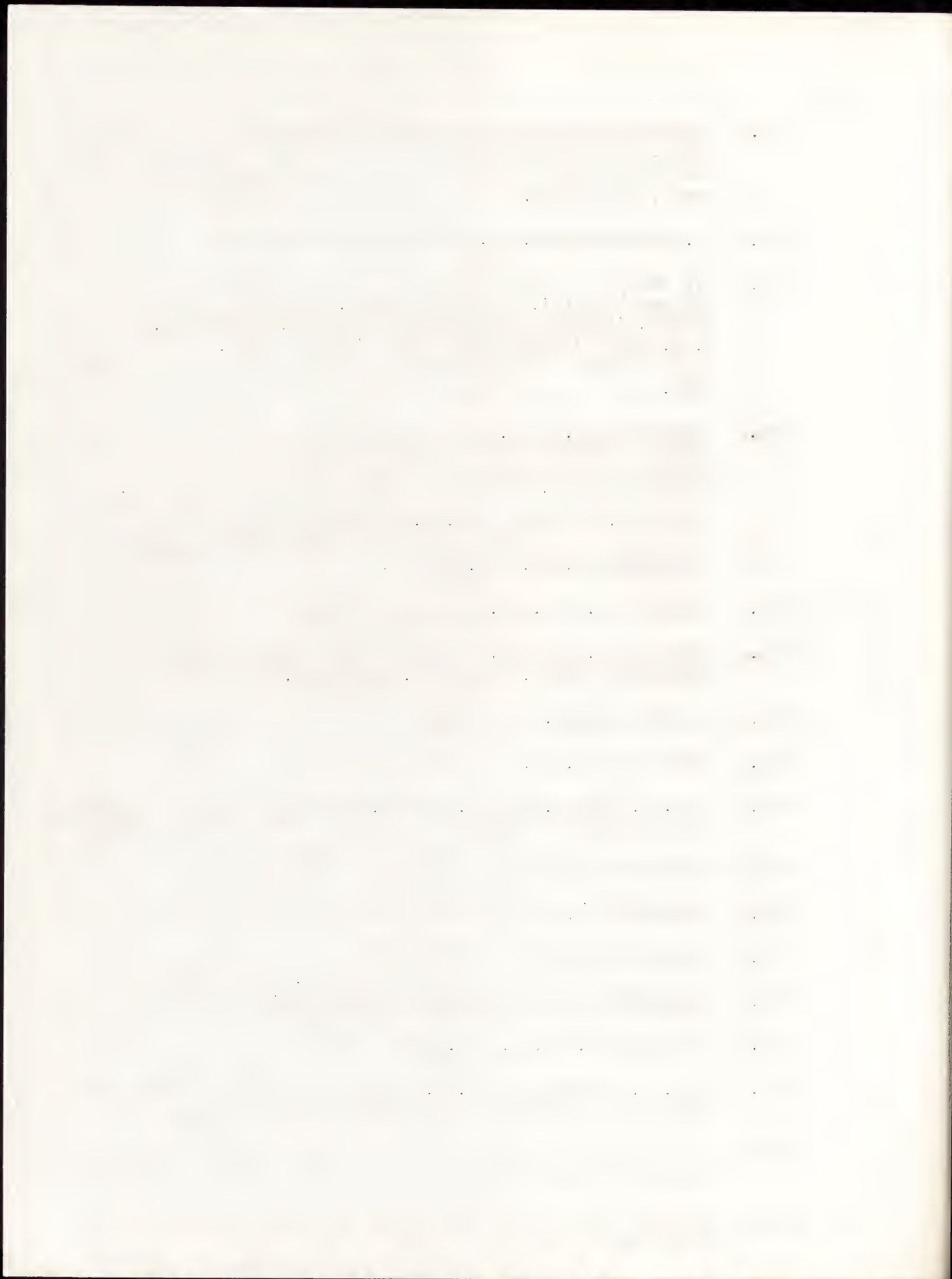
319. London 'Annales du Musée' op.cit. V p.47; VI p. 87;
VIII p. 143; XXVII p. 15, 16, 18.
Allais and others 'Projets d'Architecture' pl. 31, 32.
cf. also Hauteceur op.cit. V p.130 fig.70, p.131 fig.71.
320. The most important of these men listed by A. Rondelet are -
Vallet, Robault, Jolly, Coudray, Viquier, Hesse, Abel,
Kleinze, Chaussey, Ledrut and Viâlot.
321. cf. 'The first proofs of the Universal Catalogue of Books
on Art'. London 1870.
Durand was also responsible for the 'Vues des Principaux
Bâtiments de Paris' published in 1783, and in a revised
edition in 1792; and in 1816, together with Gaucher,
printed a 'Recueil des Projets Composés par M. M. Les
Elèves'.
322. In 1809, Molinos published J. G. Legrand's 'Essai sur
l'histoire générale de l'architecture', a work which was
intended as a text to Durand's 'Recueil'.
323. op. cit. introduction.
324. 'Précis' op.cit. I p. 9 ff - all quotations and references
are taken from the revised edition of 1823.
cf. also 'Précis' op.cit. II p. 5 ff.
325. 'Précis' op.cit. I, p. 16.
326. 'Précis' op. cit. I p. 16; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit.p.24.
327. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.18.
328. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.19.
329. 'Précis' op. cit. I p. 6 ff; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit.p.4
330. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.54 ff; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit.p.8
331. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.86
332. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.20 ff; Pl.18, cf. also II p. 22 ff.
333. 'Précis' op. cit. II p.6. cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit.p.4
334. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.52.
335. 'Précis' op. cit. I p.8



336. 'Précis' op. cit. I p. 7. cf. also Durand's justification of straight walls and rectangular junctions. 'Précis' op. cit. II p. 16 and 'Partie Graphique' op.cit. p.12.
337. 'Précis' op. cit. I, p. 23 ff; II p. 3 ff; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit. p. 1 ff.
338. 'Précis' op. cit. I p. 73 ff; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit. p. 12 ff.
339. 'Précis' op. cit. I, p. 7; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op. cit. p.4
340. 'Précis' op. cit. I, p. 91.
341. 'Précis' op. cit. I p. 79; cf. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit. p.16 ff.
342. 'Précis' op. cit. I, p. 21, pl.I; cf. 'Partie Graphique', op.cit. p. 25 n.l.
343. 'Précis' op. cit. I, p. 70.
344. 'Précis' op. cit. II p. 51.
345. 'Précis' op. cit. II p. 55.
346. 'Précis' op. cit. II p. 67 ff.
347. on B. Poyet cf. Hauteceur op. cit. IV, V.
348. 'Partie Graphique' op.cit. p.16; he writes also op.cit. p.20 of 'le mécanisme de la composition'.
349. 'Précis' op.cit. II p.4.
350. 'Précis' op.cit. I p.2.
351. cf. Hauteceur op.cit. V, VI.
F. Benoit 'L'Art Français sous la Révolution et l'Empire', Paris 1897.
P. Francastel 'Le Style Empire', Paris 1939.
E. Bourgeois 'Le Style Empire, ses origines et caractères', Paris 1930.
352. cf. René Schneider 'Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts', Paris 1910, p. 14 ff.



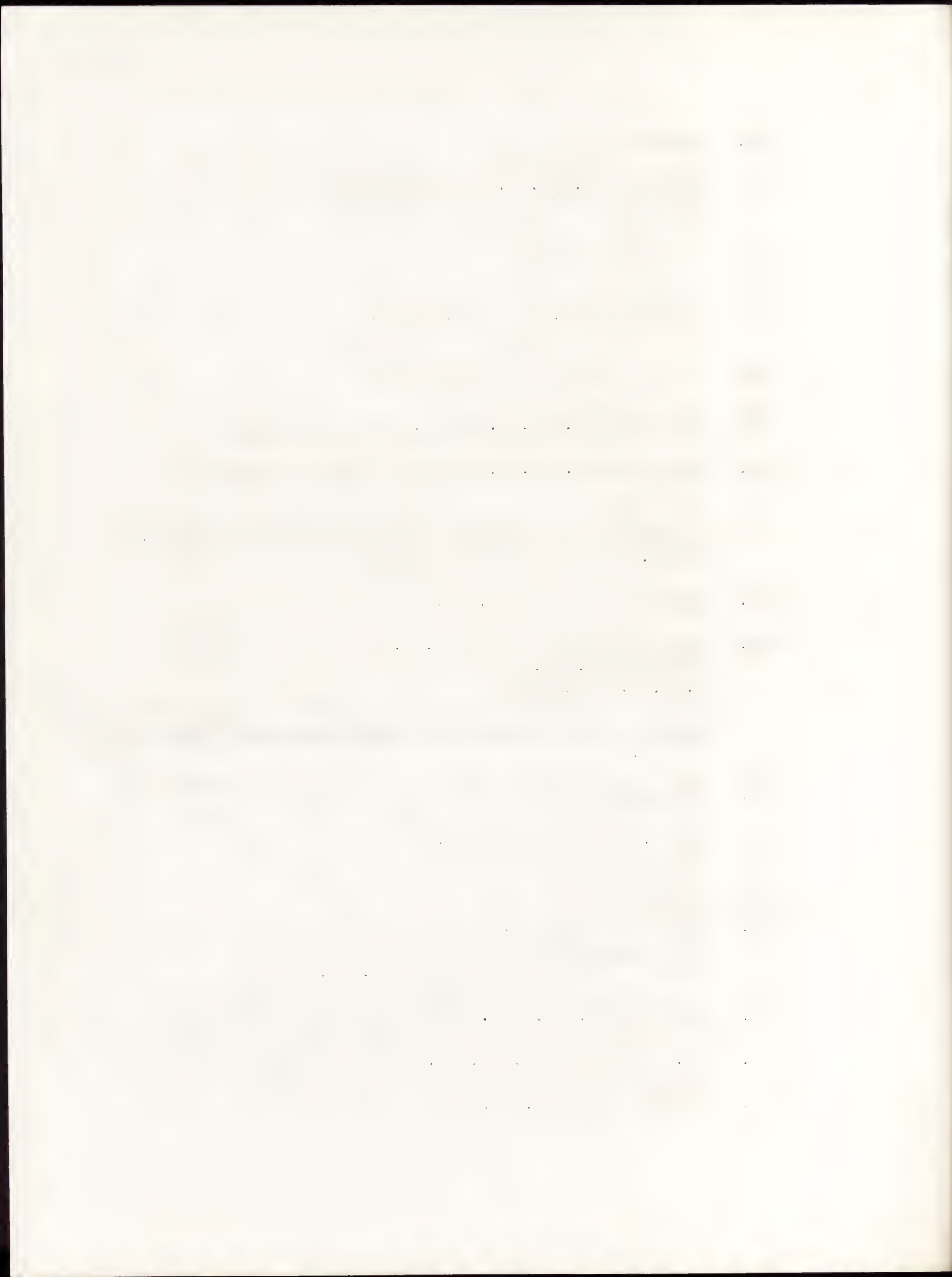
353. Rondelet wrote several reports and pamphlets during these years, but his only late publication of any importance is his 'Commentaire de S. J. Frontin sur les Aqueducs de Rome', Paris 1820.
354. cf. Hauteceur op.cit. VI p. 267 - 268.
355. cf. Krafft and Ransonette 'Plans, coups, des plus belles maisons à Paris', Paris 1801, 1802.
Krafft, 'Recueil d'Architecture Civile', Paris 1812.
L. A. Dubut 'Architecture Civile', Paris 1803.
L. P. Normand 'Paris Moderne - choix de Maisons' Paris 1837 - 1857.
356. Hauteceur op.cit V.
Kaufmann 'Three Revolutionary Architects'.
Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason'.
Landon 'Annales' op.cit. III 1803 Pl. 48, 49; V 1803 p.111; IX 1803 p. 85; XI 1806 p.35.
357. Hauteceur op.cit. V p. 143 ff.
358. Gourlier op. cit. II.
359. Gourlier op. cit. II.
Hauteceur op.cit. V, esp. p. 198 - 201.
360. J. Stern op.cit.
361. Hauteceur op.cit. V.
362. G. L. G. Eck op.cit. pl. 33, 34.
cf. Quatremère de Quincy 'Notice sur Labanée' Paris 1835.
363. Hauteceur op.cit. V esp. p. 204 - 207.
364. Hauteceur op.cit. V p. 207 - 209 fig. 128.
365. Hauteceur op. cit. V, VI.
366. Quatremère de Quincy 'Notice sur Bonnard', Paris 1826.
367. Schneider op.cit. p. 266.
368. A. L. T. Vaudoyer and L. P. Baltard 'Grands Prix d'Architecture', Vol. I. 1818; Vol. II 1818; Vol. III 1834.
369. cf. Hauteceur op.cit. V and VI. cf. also Landon 'Annales' op.cit. II 1803 pl. 63 ff.
370. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason' op.cit.
Hauteceur op.cit. V.



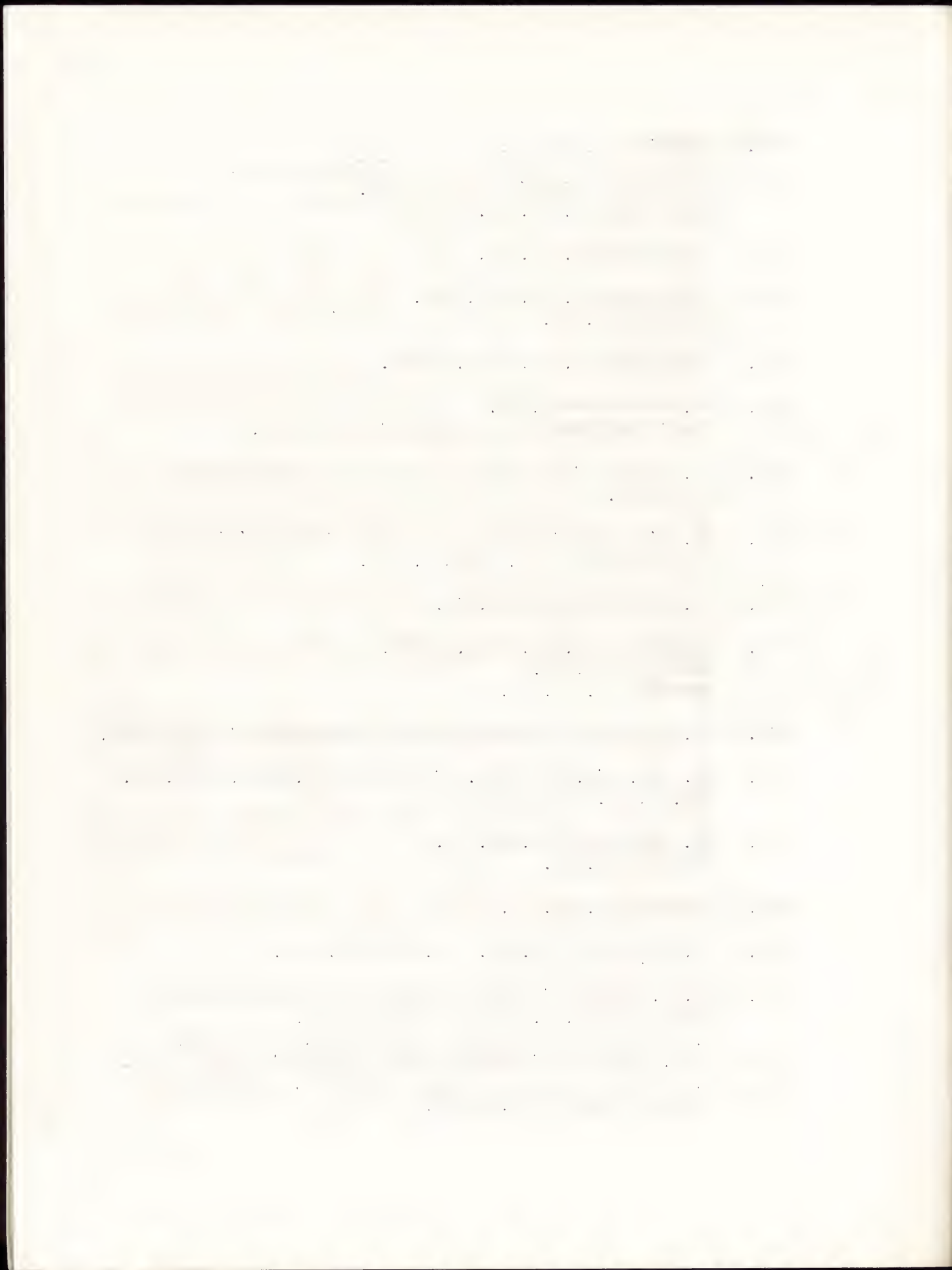
371. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason'.
Hauteccœur op.cit. V.
372. Hauteccœur op.cit. V.
373. Kaufmann 'Architecture in the Age of Reason'.
Hauteccœur op. cit. V.
374. M. Fouché 'Percier et Fontaine' Paris 1904.
J. Duportal 'Charles Percier Architecte' Paris 1931.
Hauteccœur op. cit. V.
375. Hauteccœur op.cit. V.
376. Durand op. cit. 1823 edition pl. 21.
377. Hauteccœur op.cit. VI.
378. cf. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art
Français' Paris 1921 p. 129 for a list of the pupils
of Percier and Fontaine.
379. Percier and Fontaine op.cit. p. 111.
380. cf. esp. Percier and Fontaine 'Les Résidences des
Souverains' op.cit. and 'Les Monuments de Paris'.
381. cf. C. L. G. Eck op. cit.
382. Hauteccœur op.cit. V p. 312 fig. 217.
383. Fontaine op.cit. p. 36 quoted Hauteccœur op.cit.V p.288.
384. Percier and Fontaine op.cit. p. 265 ff.
385. R. Schneider op.cit. p. 198 ff.
386. R. Schneider op. cit. p. 115.
387. quoted R. Schneider op.cit. p. 211 from Quatremère de
Quincy 'Notice sur Labarre', Paris 1835.
388. Schneider op. cit. p. 367.
389. Hauteccœur op. cit. VI p. 2 ff.



390. quoted Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 5.
391. Gourlier op.cit. I.
Normand fils 'La Chapelle Expiatoire', Paris 1832.
Hautecoeur op. cit. VI p. 12 ff.
392. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 9, 10 fig.6.
393. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 30 ff.
C. L. G. Eck op.cit.
394. C. L. G. Eck op.cit.
395. Schneider op.cit. p. 19 ff.
396. Schneider op.cit. p. 78.
397. cf. Debret's original drawings in the Archives de la
Commission des Monuments Historiques', Palais Royal,
Paris.
398. quoted Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 238.
399. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI esp. p. 84, 85.
Gourlier op.cit.
C. L. G. Eck, op.cit. esp. pl. 30.
Normand, Thierry, Olivier etc. 'Modèles de Serrurie choisis
parmi ce qui Paris offre de plus remarquable' Paris 1826,
pl. 42.
400. Hautecoeur op. cit. VI.
R. G. A. XXV 1867, p. 247 ff. cf. also L. Vaudoyer 'Notice
sur M. Lebas' Paris 1870.
401. Schneider op.cit. p. 78.
402. Gourlier op.cit. I.
Inventaire Général des Richesses de l'Art de la France.
Paris. Monuments Religieux Vol. II.
403. Gourlier op.cit. III.
404. cf. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI.
405. Gourlier op. cit. II.



406. Gourlier op.cit. II.
Jules de Joly 'Plans, coupes, élévations etc. de la
Chambre des Députés,' Paris 1840.
Hautecoeur op.cit. VI.
407. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI.
408. Hautecoeur op.cit. V p. 242.
Gourlier op.cit.
409. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 17 ff.
410. cf. Schneider op.cit.
Baoul Rochette 'Eloge de Huyot' Paris 1840.
411. cf. Huyot's 'Notes d'un Voyage' in the Bibliothèque
Nationale.
412. cf. César Daly's attacks on Huyot, 'Revue Générale de
l'Architecture', I, 1840, p. 437.
413. cf. Baoul Rochette op.cit.
414. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI p. 20 ff.
Schneider op.cit.
Gourlier op.cit. II.
415. cf. Vapereau 'Dictionnaire des Contemporains' Paris 1865.
416. cf. Inv. Gén. des Rich. d'art de la Fr. Paris. Mons. Rel.
Vol. I, II.
417. cf. Hautecoeur op.cit. VI.
Gourlier op.cit.
418. Gourlier op.cit. II.
419. cf. Hautecoeur op.cit. V p. 188 fig. 115.
420. cf. A. Normand 'Notice Historique sur la vie et les
ouvrages de J. L. Hittorff' Paris 1837.
H. Labrousse 'Notice sur M. Hittorff', Paris 1868.
T. L. Donaldson 'Jacques Ignace Hittorff', London 1867.
O. Lancaster 'Jacques Ignace Hittorff', Architectural
Review, Aug. 1837 p. 69 ff.



A. E. Richardson 'Jacques Ignace Hittorff', *Architectural Review*, Vol. 33, 1914 p. 106 ff.

Claude Saunier 'L'Attirance de l'art français au delà du Rhin de Napoléon I à Napoléon III', *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, Vol. 12, July, Aug. 1917, esp. p.61 - 72.

Lehmann 'Discours sur la tombe de Hittorff', *R.G.A.* 1867 Vol. XXV p. 245.

Beulé 'Notice sur Hittorff' Paris 1867.

A. Normand op.cit. includes a useful, but inaccurate and incomplete, check-list of Hittorff's literary and architectural works.

cf. also Hauteceur op.cit.VI, VII.

421. Among Hittorff's glittering circle of French friends were Berlioz, V. Baltard, Huillard-Bréholles, H. Flandrin, Gérard, Ingres, Isabey, and the Duc de Luynes.

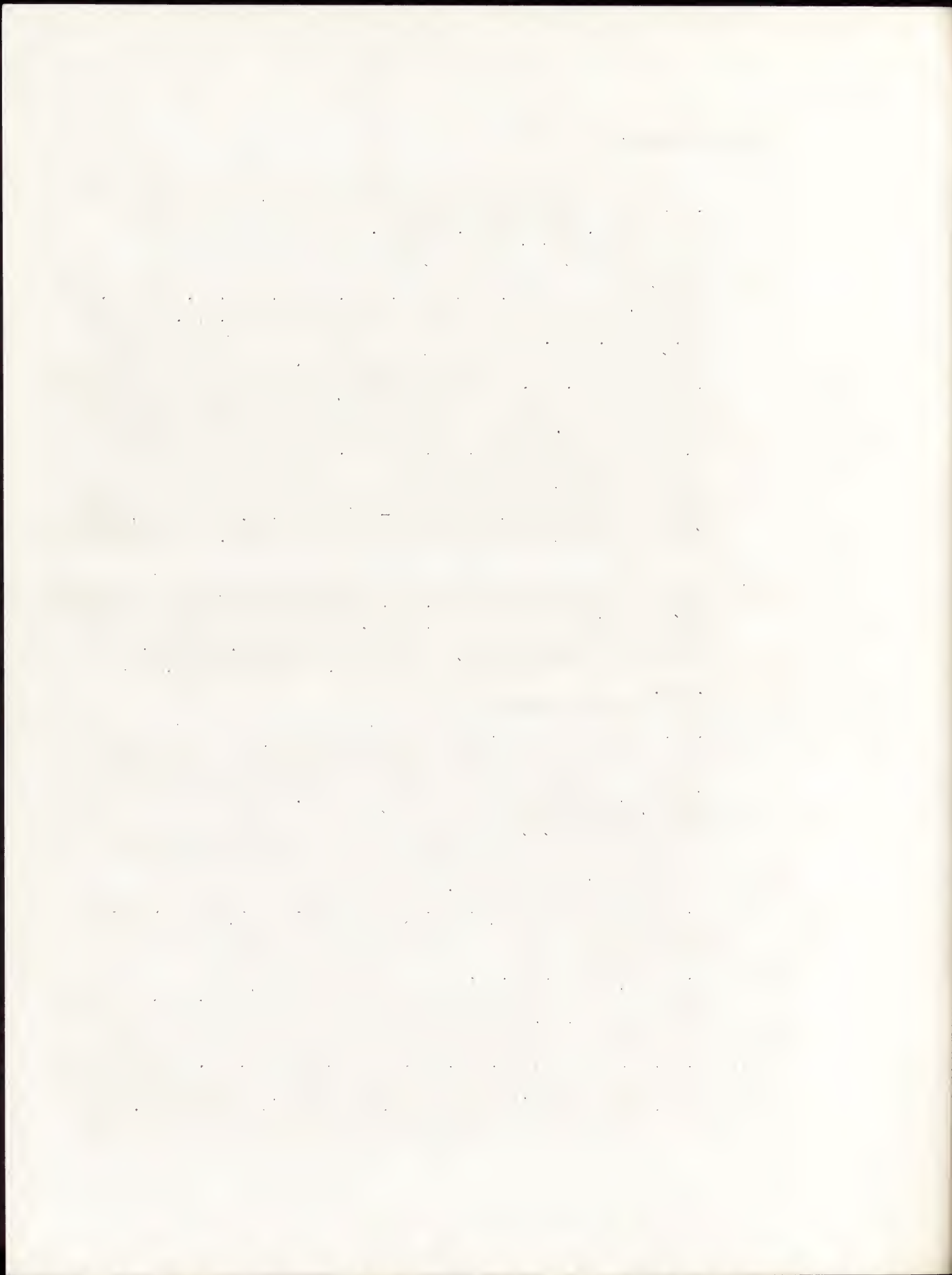
422. Hittorff and Leconte were responsible for Bélanger's extremely simple tombstone. cf. Normand fils 'Monuments Funéraires', Paris 1832 Pl. 1, 6.
Hittorff designed in 1819 a boudoir for Mlle. Levert, much in the manner of Bélanger - cf. Hauteceur op.cit. VI p.345.

423. J. I. Hittorff and J. Leconte 'Description des Cérémonies et des Fêtes qui ont eu lieu pour le baptême de son altesse royale, Monseigneur Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, Duc de Bordeaux', Paris 1827.
Petit 'Relation des fêtes données par la Ville de Paris et de toutes les cérémonies qui ont eu lieu dans cette capitale à l'occasion de la naissance et du baptême de Mgr. le duc de Bordeaux', Paris 1822.
cf. also Hauteceur op.cit. VI p.4 fig.2; p.302 fig.242.
Chapuy and Jolivet 'La cathédrale de Rheims' Paris 1826.

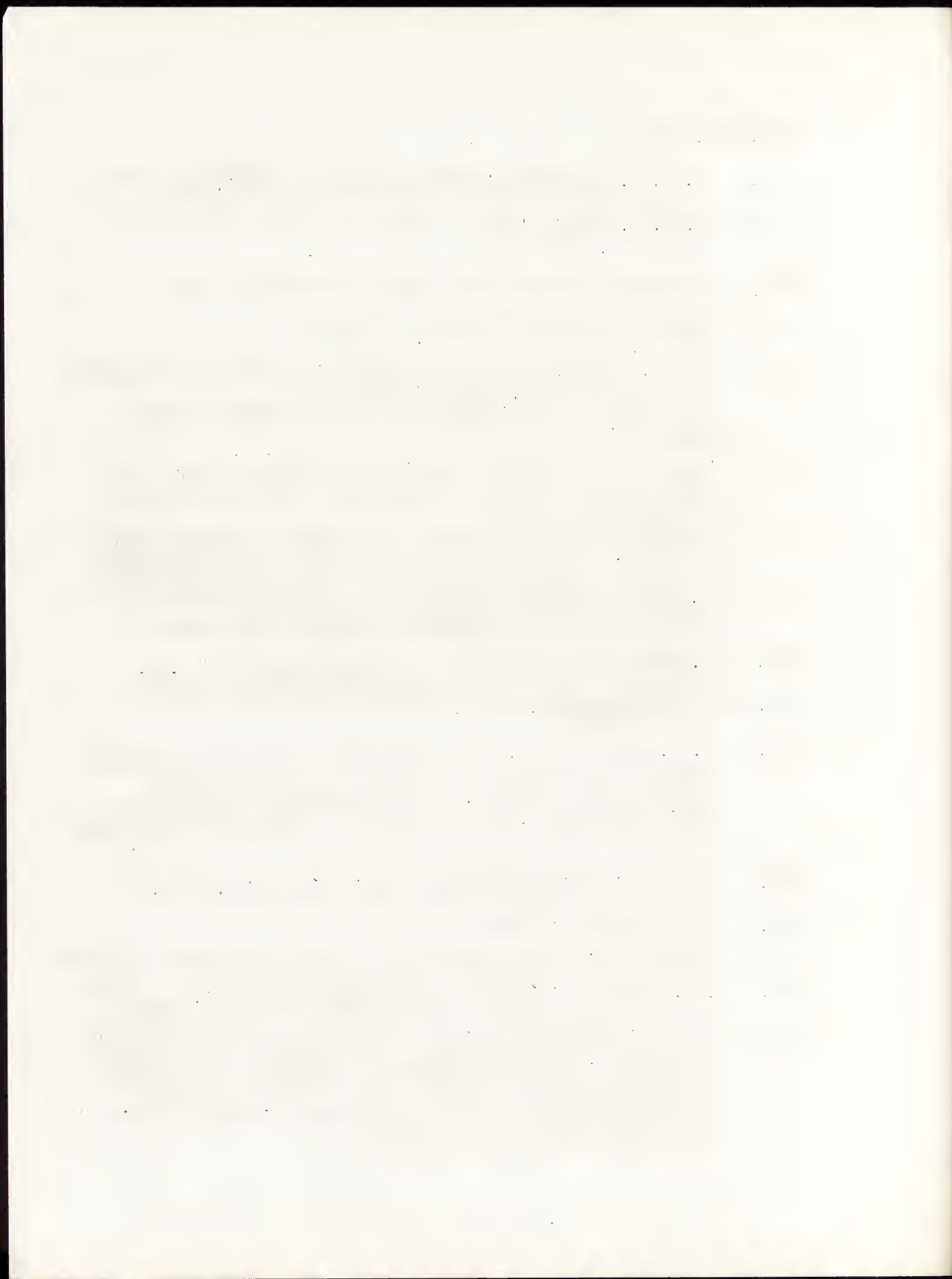
424. cf. Courlier op.cit. I.
Normand 'Paris Moderne ou Choix de Maisons' Vol. IV, Paris 1853 pl.47.

425. cf. G. L. G. Eck, op.cit. pl.23, 28, 36, 46, 51.

426. cf. H. Labrousse 'Notice sur M. Hittorff', Paris 1838.



427. H. Labrousse op.cit. p.4.
428. cf. T. L. Donaldson 'Jacques Ignace Hittorff', London 1867.
429. cf. H. M. Colvin 'A biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660 - 1840', London 1954.
430. The history of the discovery and the subsequent controversies concerning the use of colour in Greek architecture has not yet been adequately written. L. Fenger's 'Dorische Polychromie' published in Berlin in 1886, is inaccurate; Michael Murray's unpublished thesis, 'The Nineteenth Century External Polychromy Revival', deposited in the University Library at Cambridge, is only partial in its investigation; the best account is, probably, that contained in J. I. Hittorff's 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Selinonte, ou l'Architecture Polychrome chez les Grecs', printed in Paris between 1846 and 1851, though this work must, of course, be read in conjunction with the books and pamphlets of Hittorff's opponents.
431. cf. Edward Dodwell 'A classical and topographical tour through Greece, during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806', London 1819.
432. cf. Hittorff 'Restitution de Temple d'Empédocle' p.15.
433. Michael Murray op.cit. p. 8.
434. cf. D. Angell and T. Evans 'Sculptural Metopes discovered amongst the Ruins of the temples of the ancient city of Selinus in Sicily by Wm. Harris and Samuel Angell in the year 1823', London 1826.
Harris and Angell made their discoveries in March 1823.
435. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' p. 4 ff.
436. Raoul Rochette 'Peintures Antiques Inédites' Paris 1836, introduction.
437. J. I. Hittorff 'Mémoire sur un voyage en Sicile', Paris 1824.
438. The publication of the 'Architecture Antique de la Sicile' was sporadic. The first part was issued in 1827; two years later five parts had been issued, but by 1858 only eight of the proposed thirty parts had been printed. Normand op.cit. gives 1866 - 1867 as the dates of publication for the work,



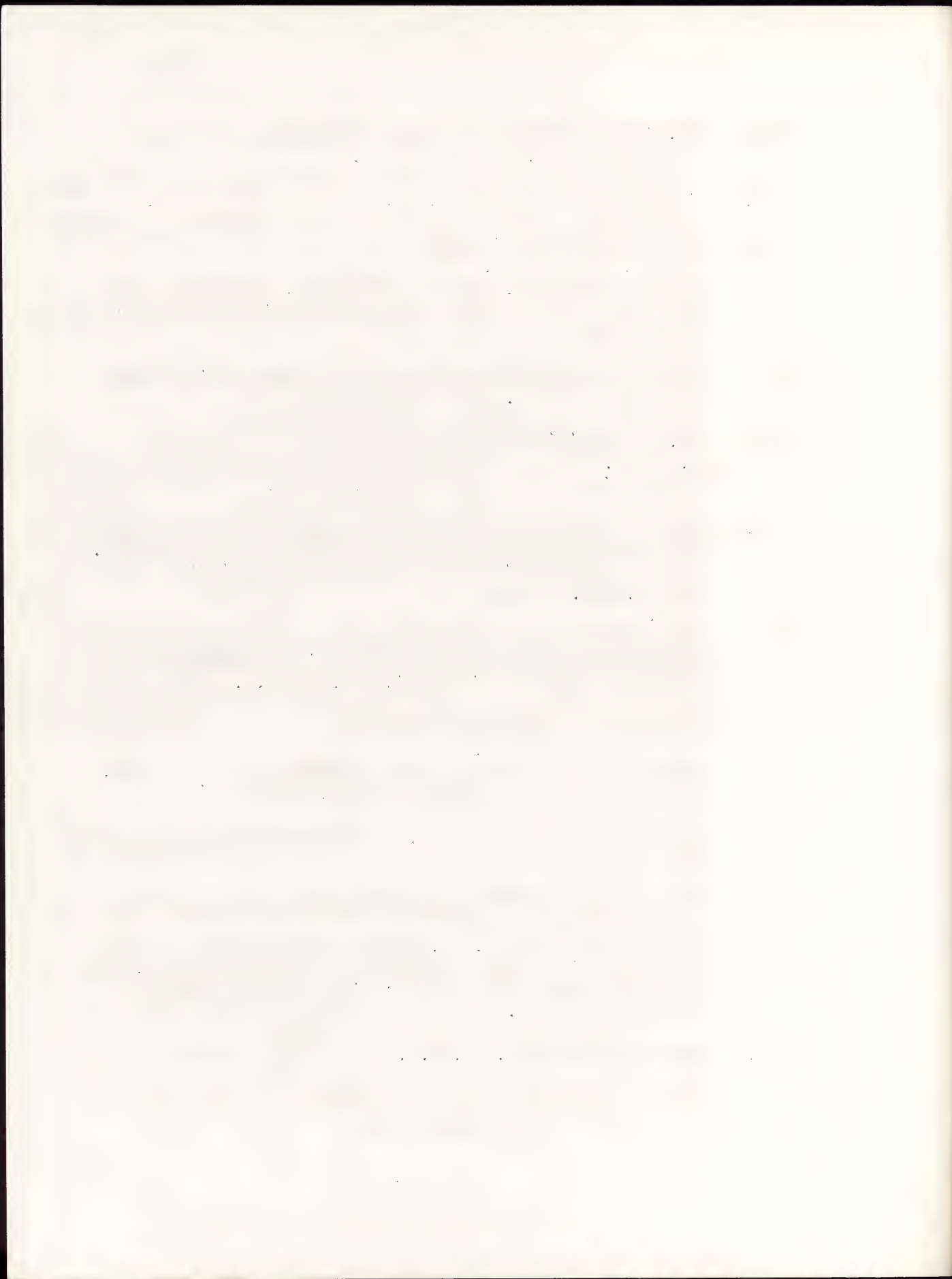
438 (continued)

but he is clearly in error. In 1870 a revised edition, 'Architecture Antique de la Sicile et de la Grèce, Recueil des Monuments de Segeste et de Selinonte', was published in Paris.

439. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' p.4.
440. Kinnaird op.cit. Vol. II p. 44 note a.
441. Hittorff wrote the sections 'Monuments publics et Temples', 'Théâtres, and Peintures et Mosaïques'.
cf. also J. I. Hittorff 'Mémoire sur Pompeï et Pétra', Paris 1866.
442. This work was never completed, but during the following years Raoul Rochette did add other volumes and related supplements to it -
'Peintures Antiques inédites précédées de recherches sur l'emploi de la peinture dans la décoration des édifices sacrés et publics chez les Grecs et les Romains, faisant suite aux Monuments Inédites', Paris 1836.
'Lettres Archéologiques sur la peinture des Grecs', Paris 1840.
'Pompeï, choix d'édifices inédites. Deuxième partie. Peintures spécialement de décors intérieurs', Paris 1840 - 1842.
443. L. Barré was also responsible for a supplementary volume, added to the 'Ruines de Pompeï' by Mazois, in 1838.
cf. also Mazois and Zahn 'Les plus beaux ornements et les tableaux les plus remarquables de Pompeï, Berlin 1829.
444. The mémoire was published in the following year in the 'Annales de la Société Libre des Beaux Arts', with a commentary by Miel.
445. Whether or not Hittorff knew the German protagonists of the Greek polychrome theory personally is uncertain. Semper was certainly closely connected with Hittorff's circle of English friends and may indeed have been introduced to them by Hittorff himself. For Hittorff travelled often to Germany during the 1830's and 1840's, and it was not until 1842 that he finally became a French citizen. He was a close friend of C. F. Schinkel, of whom he wrote a 'Notice Historique' in 1857.

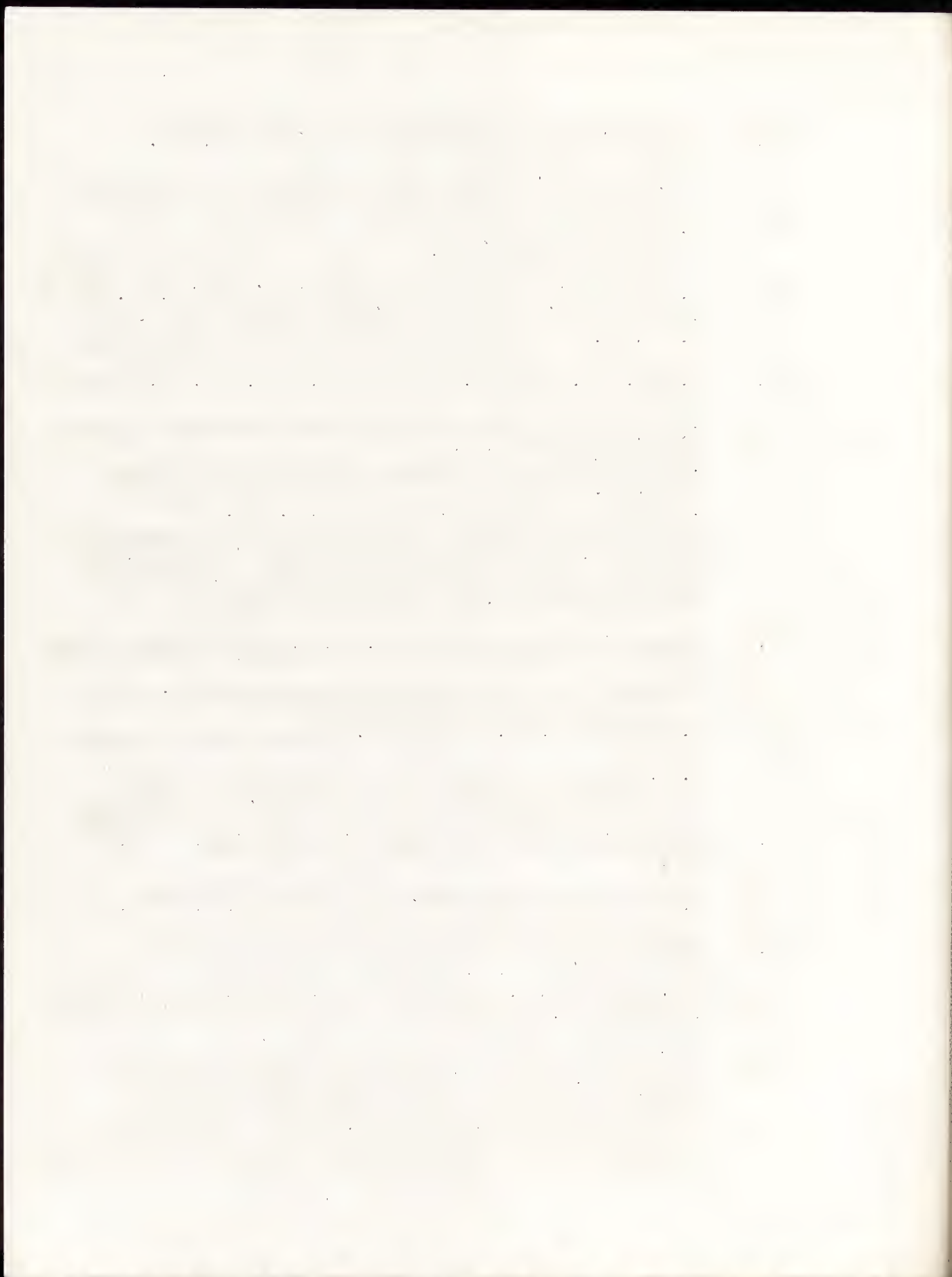


446. cf. 'Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects' Vol. I, London 1842.
447. 'Transactions of the R.I.B.A.' Vol. I, London 1842.
448. Owen Jones 'An apology for the colouring of the Greek court', London 1854.
The draughtsman J. Goury, a Frenchman, who did the plates for Owen Jones's 'Plans of the Alhambra', published in London between 1842 and 1845, was employed also by Semper in the preparation of his 'Vorläufige Bemerkungen über bemalte Architektur und Plastik bei den Alten' printed in Altona in 1834.
449. cf. *Revue Générale de l'Architecture* Vol. XI, 1853 p. 30 ff.
Encyclopédie d'Architecture Jan. 1852 p. 23; Feb. 1854 p. 17.
450. This model temple is almost invariably incorrectly dated, but there can be no doubt that it was done in 1856 - cf. Norman Schlenoff 'Ingres - ses sources littéraires' Paris 1956 p. 299. The temple was exhibited at the Salon in 1859.
Hittorff was, through life, closely connected with Ingres; he designed the background for the 'Apotheosis of Homer' in 1827 (Charles Blanc 'Ingres', *Gaz. des B.A.*, 1838, p. 94), and was probably responsible for some of the architectural details in the later versions of 'Antiochus and Stratonice' (Osbert Lancaster op.cit.) The highly coloured architectural setting in the first version of this painting, done in Rome between 1834 and 1840, and which it is so tempting to recognize as Hittorff's work, was designed, however, by Victor Baltard. A frame designed by Hittorff for Ingres is illustrated in Norman Schlenoff op.cit. Pl. XLV.
Hittorff and his family sat often for Ingres; the portrait of Hittorff that Ingres is said to have painted in 1829 (Osbert Lancaster op.cit.) is not listed in Georges Wildenstein's 'Ingres', published in London in 1954, but other portraits of Hittorff's wife and daughter are illustrated there.
451. Henri Labrousse op.cit. p. 8.

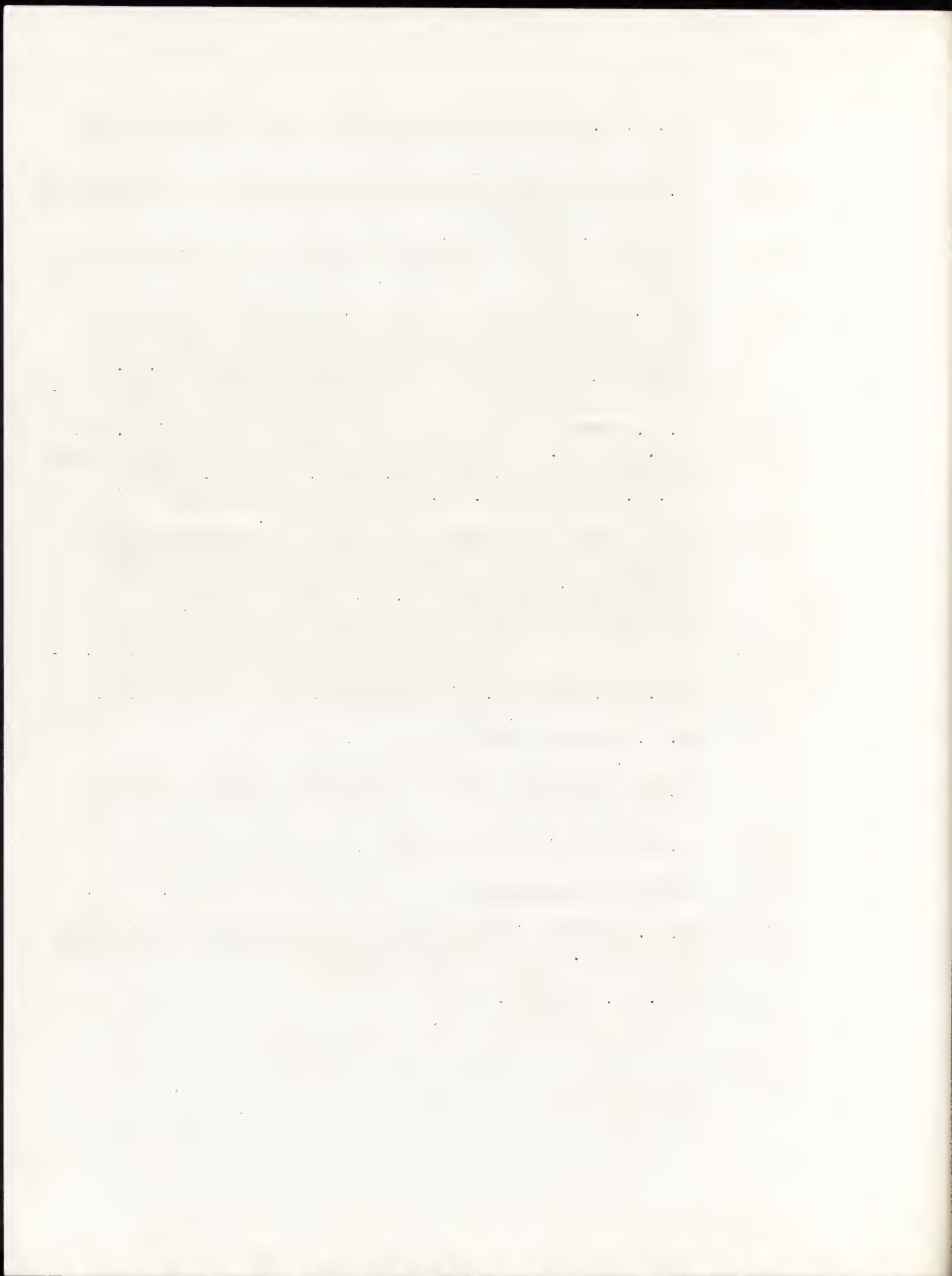


452. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' p. 314.
453. J. L. Hittorff 'Notice sur Sir Charles Barry' Paris 1860 p.17.
454. cf. note 425 - Mazois collaborated with Hittorff and Lecoq in designing these décors.
455. cf. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' p. 69.
L. Normand aîné 'Monuments Funéraires' Paris 1847 pt. I and II, pl. 46, 47.
456. cf. Div. Gen. des Rich. d'Art, Paris, Mons. Rel. II, for some contemporary comments of this work cf -
L. Mongenot 'De l'Impuissance Architectonique du XIX^e siècle' Nancy 1857 p. 7.
A. Esparbié 'Les Architectes au Dix Neuvième Siècle' Paris 1863 p. 10.
R. Lagout 'Architecture', Paris 1862, p. 121.
Between 1857 and 1858 Hittorff undertook one other mock-gothic work, the presbytery of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, but this was an addition to an existing structure, not a new work of architecture.
457. Hittorff 'Sir Charles Barry' op.cit. p. 15 - naturally enough, it was what he recognised as Ruskin's malefic influence that Hittorff blamed for this imposition.
458. cf. Hittorff op.cit. introduction.
459. cf. L. Zenth 'La Wilhelma, villa mauresque de sa majesté le roi Guillaume de Wurtemberg' Paris 1855.
460. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' op.cit. p.viii note.

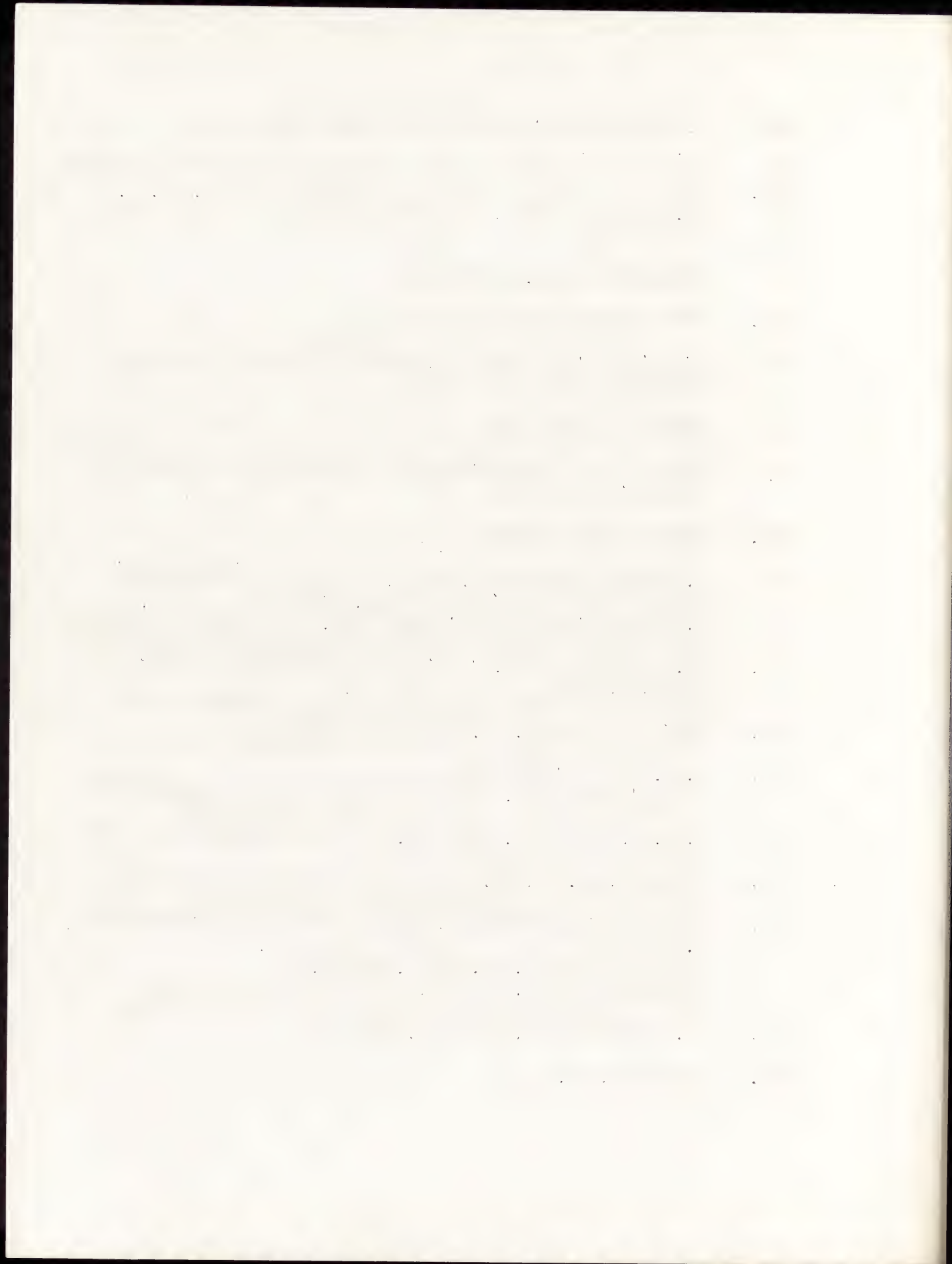
cf. also Hittorff 'Sir Charles Barry' op.cit. p. 17 ff.
461. Among the subscribers to Hittorff's 'Architecture Moderne de la Sicile' are C. R. Cockerell, E. Delécluse, F. Duban, T. L. Donaldson, C. Eastlake, Goethe, Ingres, Isabey, W. Kimbaird, H. Labrousse, J. A. Leconte, Quatremère de Quincy, Raoul Rochette and C. F. Schinkel.
Hittorff's two books on Italy were clearly planned to replace A. L. Lussan's 'Description Pittoresque de la Sicile', Paris 1820 - 1828 and 'Monuments Antiques et Modernes de la Sicile', Paris 1827.



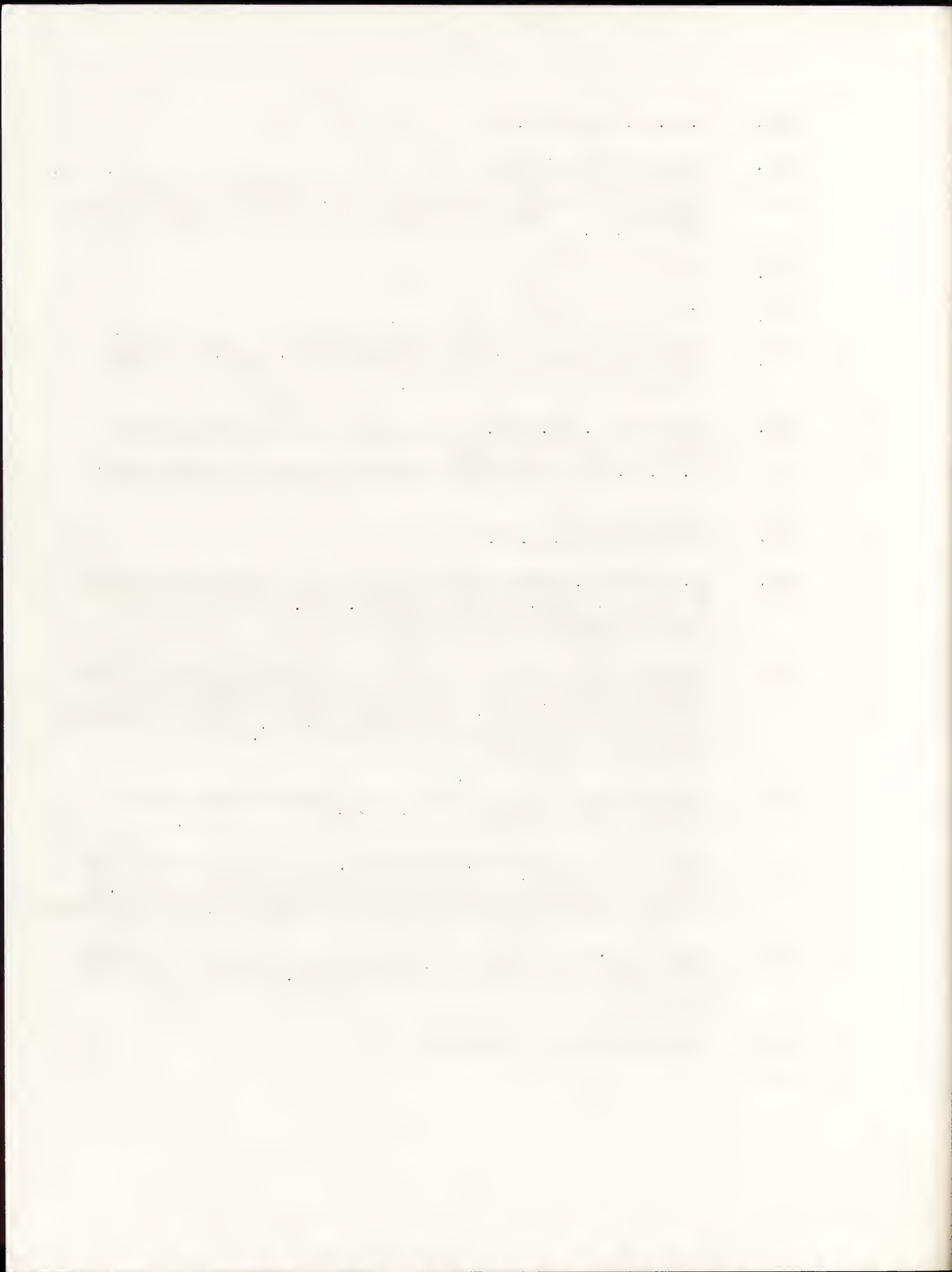
462. cf. J. I. Hittorff 'Parallèle entre les arabesques peintes des Anciens et celles de Raphael et de ses élèves', Paris 1844.
L. Gruner 'Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Italy with an essay on the arabesques of the Ancients by A. (sic) Hittorff'. London 1944.
In 1854 a greatly enlarged edition of Hittorff's 'Parallèle' together with a preface by L. Gruner was published in Paris; and in the same year a large folio 'Decorations de Palais et d'Eglises en Italie peintes à fresque ou en stuc dans le cours du XV^{ème} et du XVI^{ème} siècle, avec descriptions par Louis Gruner avec un essai par J. I. Hittorff' was published simultaneously in London and Paris.
463. L. P. Normand 'Paris Moderne ou choix de Maisons' op.cit. I pls. 67 - 71.
The house was not, it seems, built, for in A. Normand 'J. I. Hittorff' op.cit. it is listed among Hittorff's projects rather than his executed works.
An interesting feature of the sketch design is Hittorff's proposal to use a cast-iron spiral stair - a feature not common then, having been first introduced in 1827, into the shops of the Galerie d'Orléans by Fontaine.
464. Hittorff 'Architecture Moderne de la Sicile' op.cit. pl.63.
465. Inv. Gén. des Rich. d'art de la Fr. Paris Bâta. Rel.II. R.G.A. V, 1844 p. 431; VI 1845 p.44;
L. P. Normand 'Paris Moderne op.cit. IV, pls. 10, 32, 34, 78, 79.
The presbytery of Saint Vincent de Paul, on the rue Fénélon, Beaune and Rocard was built also by Hittorff, between April 1860 and March 1861 - R.G.A. XX 1862 p.231; L.P.Normand 'Paris Moderne' op.cit. IV pl.80.
466. 'Notice biographique J.B. Lepère' R.G.A.V 1844 p.367 ff.
467. J. I. Hittorff 'Notice sur les basiliques antiques' Paris 1832.
468. Inv.Gén. des Rich. d'art de la France. Paris. Mons. Rel.II 'Notre Dame de Lorette'.
469. Hauteceur op.cit. V p. 272, 273, fig.168 - there is clearly a misprint on one of these pages; on p. 272 Hauteceur dates the design as 1809, on p. 273 under fig. 168, he proposes 1801 as the date. 1809 is most probably correct. But Hauteceur is at fault in attributing Saint Vincent de Paul to Lebas on p. 273.



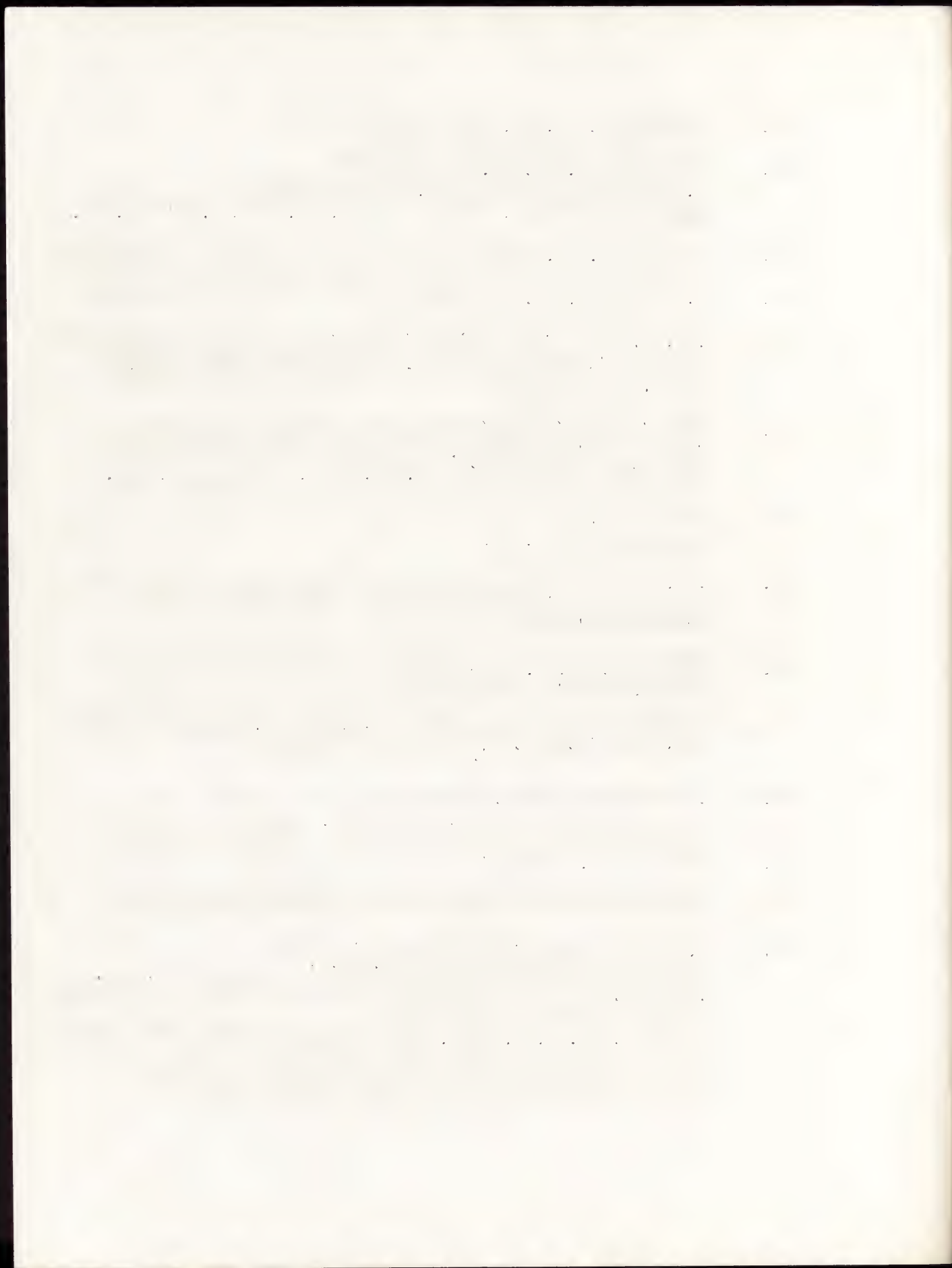
470. J. I. Hittorff 'Architecture Moderne de la Sicile' op.cit. pl. 65 - 71.
471. Hittorff 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' op.cit. p. 814 ff. cf. also chapter IV.
472. Viollet-le-Duc 'Les Eglises de Paris', Paris 1830. 'St. Vincent de Paul'.
473. Hittorff understood what he was about, in his account of St. Vincent de Paul in the 'Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle' for instance, he describes how he introduced freestanding figures into his pediment - unlike that of Notre Dame de Lorette - in order to achieve an effect of greater liveliness and an independence of forms. He discussed the same question again, in 1834, in his 'Observations critiques sur le système des sculptures en bas relief appliqué au fronton de l'église de la Madeleine'.
474. Adolphe Lance 'Abel Blouet. Sa vie et ses travaux' Paris 1854 - from the Encyclopédie d'Architecture, June 1854, p. 81 ff; July 1854 p. 97 ff.
Raoul Rochette 'Funérailles de M. Blouet' Paris 1853.
A. Hermant 'Abel Blouet' Paris 1857.
475. cf. Abel Blouet etc. 'Expédition Scientifique de Morée', Paris, I, 1832; II 1833; III 1838.
476. René Schneider op.cit.
477. G. A. Blouet 'Restauration des Thermes d'Antonin Caracalla à Rome' Paris 1828.
478. R. G. A. VI 1843 p. 518, 519.
479. Gourlier, op.cit. II.
480. Cernisson 'Emile Gilbert, sa vie et ses oeuvres' Paris 1875.
P. Abadie 'Notice sur Gilbert' Paris 1874.
Albert Soubies op.cit. III p. 101 ff.
Hauteceur op.cit. VI, VII.
481. cf. Hauteceur op.cit. VI p. 151 fig. 108.
482. Abadie op.cit.



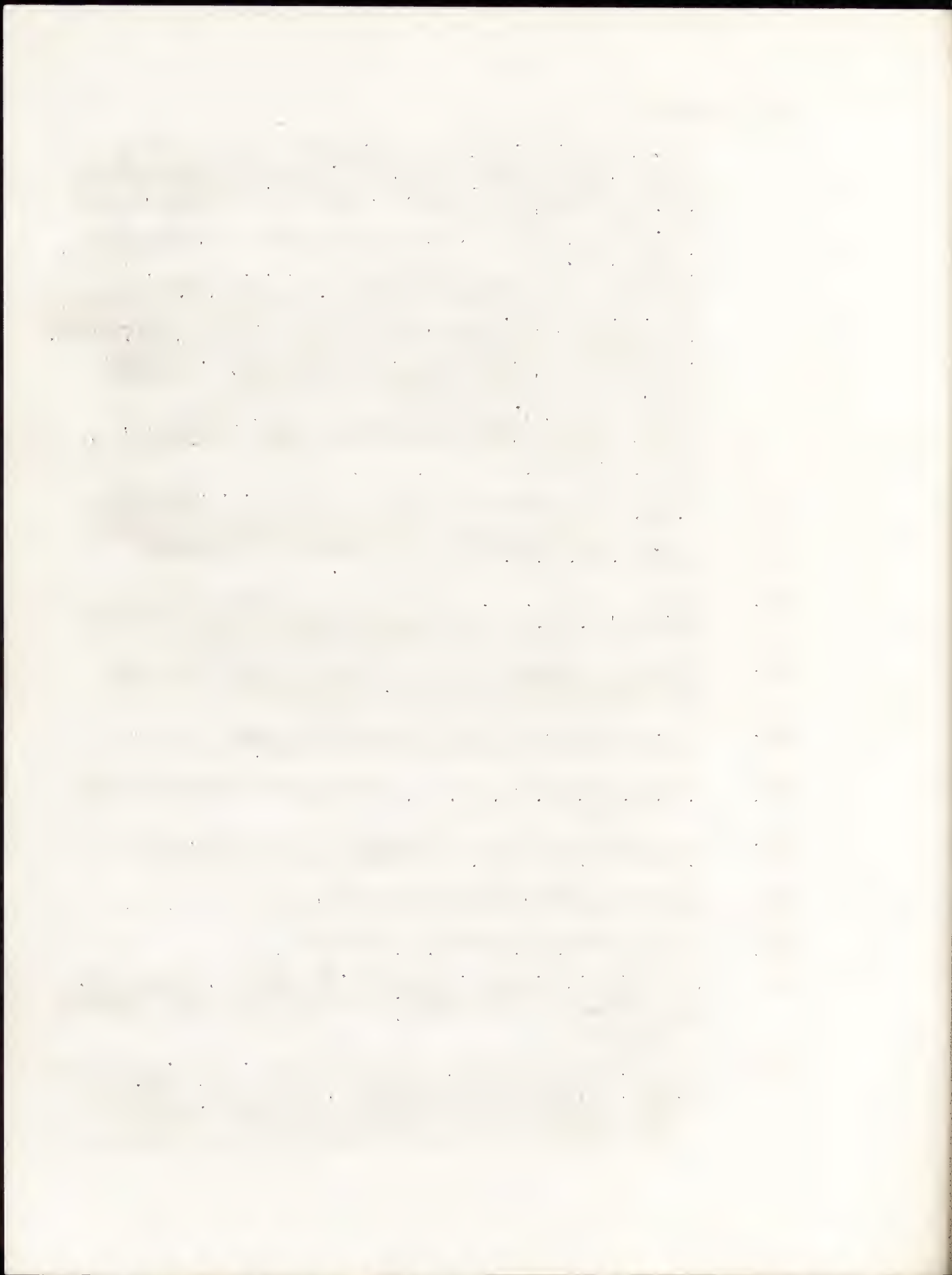
483. R. G. A. X 1852 p. 384 ff; XIV 1856 p. 134 ff.
484. Encyclopédie d'Architecture, April 1852, Oct. 1852, Dec. 1853.
485. Félix Narjoux 'Paris Monuments Elevés par la Ville' Paris 1835 Vol. I.
486. Félix Narjoux op.cit. Vol. IV.
487. Félix Narjoux op.cit. Vol. IV.
488. Marguerite Thibert 'Le Role Social de l'Art d'après les Saint-Simoniens', Paris 1926.
489. Gourlier op.cit. III.
490. cf. H. J. Hunt 'Le Socialisme et le Romantisme en France', Oxford 1935, Ch. XI.
491. Thibert op.cit. p.46.
492. cf. Thomas A. Marius 'Pattern of the Law' Architectural Review Vol. CXVI, October 1954, p. 251.
There is no similar study that I know of dealing with the early history of French prison reform, but the story can be roughly pieced together by reading the books mentioned in the text and:
Maxime Du Camp 'Paris, ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle'.
Max Parchappe 'Plans des Maisons Centrales de Force et de Correction', Paris 1853.
Max Parchappe 'Des Principes à suivre dans la fondation et la construction des Asiles d'Aliénés', Paris 1853.
'Instruction et Programme pour la construction des Maisons d'arrêt et de Justice', Paris 1841.
Halleg-Claparède 'Rapports sur les Prisons de la Prusse, sur le régime de quelques prisons de l'Espagne, de l'Angleterre, et sur le Régime des prisons de la Turquie', Paris 1843.
'Emprisonnement Cellulaire', Paris 1847.
The notes in Gourlier's work, relating to the various prisons constructed in the first half of the nineteenth century are also extremely useful.
493. Gourlier op.cit. II.



494. Gourlier op.cit. II.
495. Hauteceur op.cit. II.
cf. also the hospital of St. Jacques at Beaumont and the
Hotel Dieu at Magon. Hauteceur op.cit. III, p. 534 fig. 452.
496. Gourlier op.cit.
497. cf. Markus op.cit.
498. J. M. C. Lucas 'Du Système Pénitenciaire en Europe et aux
Etats Unis', Paris 1828 - 30, for an illustration of this
prison.
499. Poyet 'De la nécessité de transférer et de reconstruire
l'Hotel Dieu' Paris 1785.
Landon 'Annales du Musée' op.cit. IX p. 59; XXVII p. 106.
500. Gourlier op.cit.
Hauteceur op.cit. VI.
501. L. P. Baltard 'Architectonographie des Prisons où parallèle
des divers systèmes de distribution dont les prisons sont
susceptibles', Paris 1829, p. 3.
502. Baltard op.cit. p. 18 - of the rue Roquette prison Baltard
wrote p. 33 - 'on peut dire de ce plan qu'il est archi-
tectural et grandement supérieur à ceux que nous connaissons
des Anglais, chez lesquels les règles de l'art sont
entièrement négligées'.
503. G. de Beaumont and A. de Tocqueville 'Du Système pénit-
enciaire aux Etats-Unis', Paris 1833.
504. Demetz and A. Blouet 'Rapports à M. le Comte de Montalivet
sur les Pénitenciers des Etats-Unis' Paris 1837 - the book
is filled with plans and diagrams and much useful information.
505. cf. Max Parchappe 'Des Principes à suivre dans la fondation
et la Construction des Asiles d'Aliénés', Paris 1853, esp.
p. 193 ff.
506. Blouet op.cit. I. p. viii.



507. Hauteccœur op.cit. VI esp. p. 255 - 261.
 A. Soubies op.cit. III p 108 ff.
 Beulé 'Eloge de Duban', Paris 1872.
 Questel 'Notice sur M. Duban' Paris 1872.
 T. L. Donaldson, 'Discours à l'enterrement de Duban' Paris 1870.
 L. Vauloyer 'Discours à l'enterrement de Duban', Paris 1870.
 G. Daly 'Funérailles de Félix Duban' R.G.A. XXVIII p. 199 ff - included here are the speeches of L. Vauloyer, V. Baltard and T. L. Donaldson.
 H. Delaborde 'Félix Duban' Revue des Deux Mondes, Feb. 1 1872.
 H. Delaborde, Duc, Labrouste, Vauloyer and Eug. Guillaume 'Catalogue de l'Exposition des Dessins de Félix Jacques Duban' Paris 1872.
 Charles Blanc 'Félix Duban et ses Dessins' - Le Temps, April 4 1872 and 'Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment' 1872 p. 44 ff; p. 53 ff; p. 60 ff.
 A portrait of Duban was published in the R.G.A. in 1888 pl. 15.
508. Beulé op.cit. p. 12.
509. Charles Blanc op.cit. 'Gazette des Architectes et des Bâtiment' p. 45.
510. These drawings and many others by Duban, are now at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.
511. T. L. Donaldson, Ingres, Isabey and the Duc de Luynes, for instance, were all close friends of Duban.
512. G. L. G. Eck, op.cit. pl. 24.
513. Encyclopédie d'Architecture Deuxième Série Vol. V 1876, p. 34 ff pl. 327, 328.
514. Charles Garnier 'A travers les Arts' Paris 1869 p. 52.
515. Hauteccœur op.cit. VI esp. p. 241 - 248.
 Soubies, op.cit. III p. 138 - 145.
 'Souvenirs d'Henri Labrouste. Notes recueillies et classées par ses enfants', Paris 1928.
 H. Delaborde 'Notice sur Henri Labrouste' Paris 1878 - from the Encyclopédie d'Architecture VII 1878 p. 82 ff.
 Radoux 'Henri Labrouste' Le Bien Public July 2, 1875.
 Bailly 'Notice sur Henri Labrouste' Paris 1876.



515 (continued)

C. Daly 'Henri Labrouste' R.G.A. XXXIV, 1877, p. 60 ff - with a list of Henri Labrouste's pupils, to whom must be added Durand, cf. R.G.A. XXXIV, 1877, p. 239 - Pl. 21 is a portrait of Labrouste.

'Henri Labrouste' Gazette des Architectes et du Bâtiment 1875 p. 15 ff.

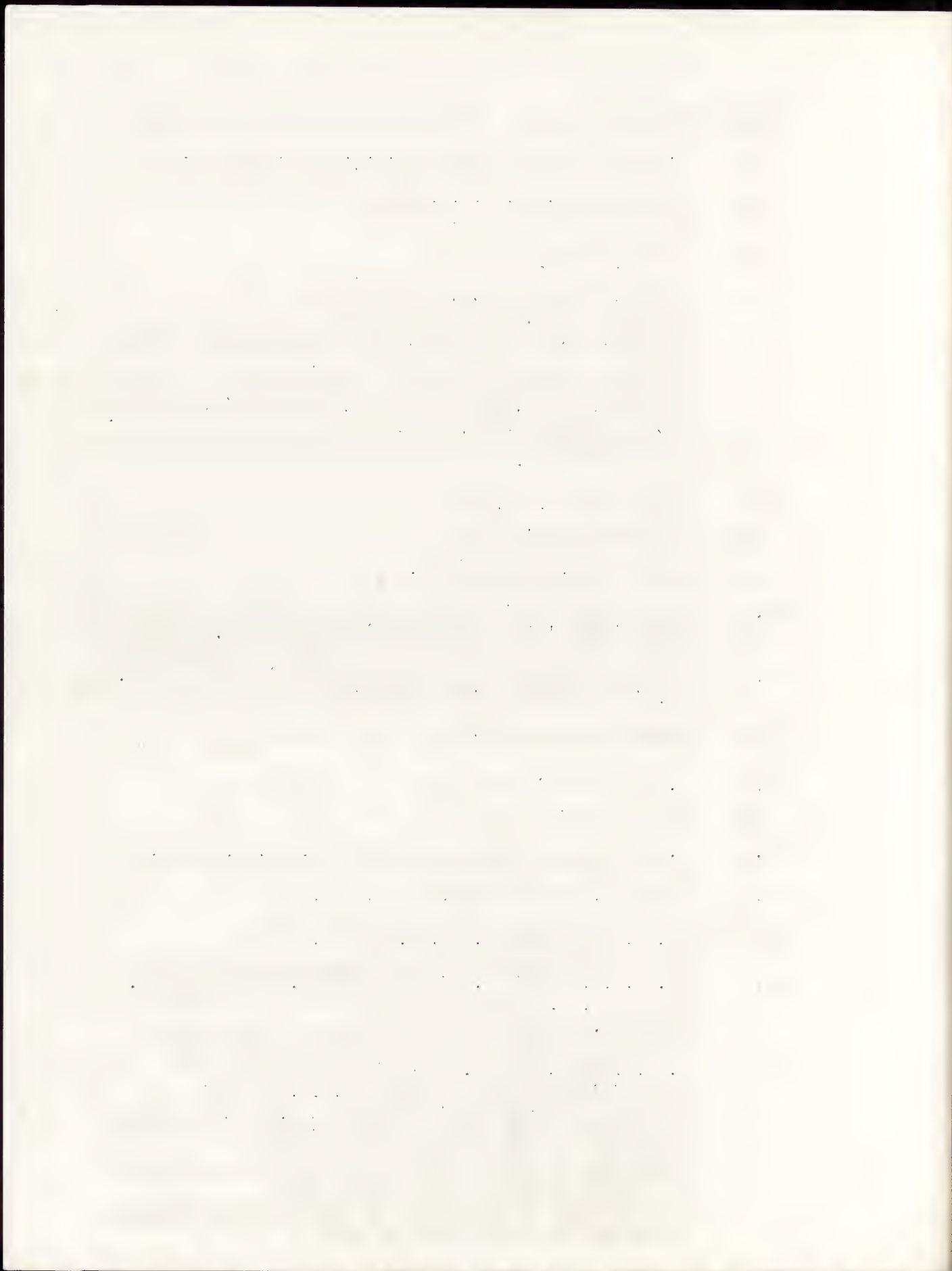
Eugène Millet 'Henry Labrouste' Paris 1890 - from the Bulletin de la Société Centrale des Architectes' 1879-1890.

Catalogue de l'Exposition des Oeuvres de Henri Labrouste à la Bibliothèque Nationale' Paris 1953 - this catalogue contains a check-list of Labrouste's works, but though useful it is neither complete nor accurate.

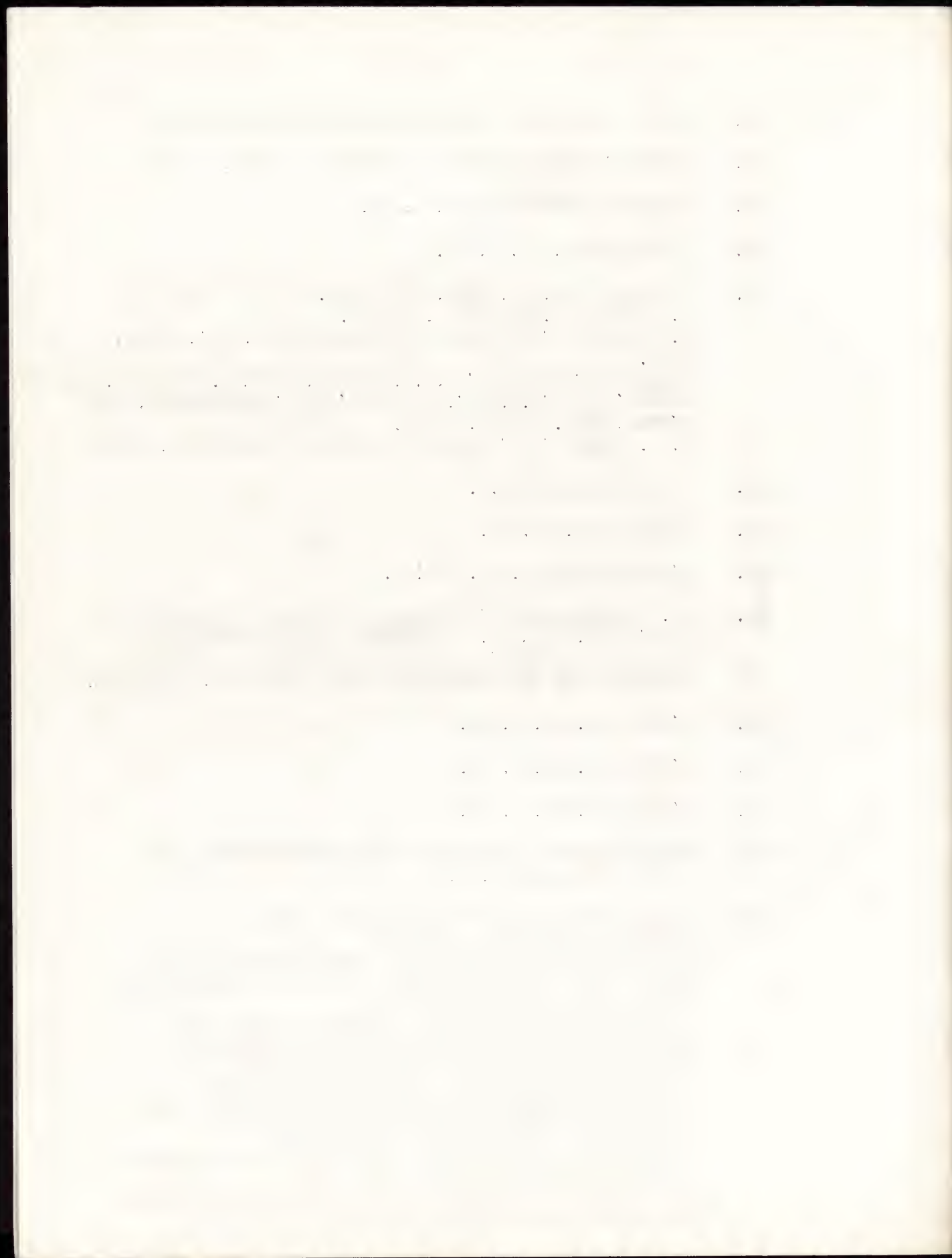
Viollet-le-Duc 'Henri Labrouste', Le XIX^e Siècle 1877.

Théophile Lematière 'Panthéon de la Légion d'Honneur' under Labrouste.

- 516. Hauteceur op.cit. VI - original drawings of the Bibliothèque Arsenal, designed by Théodore Labrouste in 1841, are in the Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, Palais Royal.
- 517. Henri Labrouste 'Journal de Voyage de Henri Labrouste de Paris à Rome' in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 518. These drawings are all in the Bibliothèque Nationale. cf. 'Catalogue de l'Exposition' op.cit.
- 519. quoted 'Souvenirs d'Henry Labrouste' op.cit. p. 13.
- 520. H. Labrouste 'Restitution des Monuments Antiques, Temple de Paestum', Paris 1877.
- 521. H. Labrouste 'Temple de Paestum' op.cit. p. 14 ff.
- 522. quoted R. Schneider op.cit. p. 309.
- 523. cf. R. Schneider op.cit. p. 301 ff.
- 524. cf. R.G.A. I 1840 p. 543; VII 1847 p. 197; X 1852 p. 379; XI 1853 p. 43. These articles are all but of the slightest interest.
- 525. R. G.A. XXXIV, 1877 p. 60 - Alfred Darcel in his 'Notice sur Lassus' in the introduction to J.B.A. Lassus' 'Album de Villarel de Honnecourt' Paris 1858, p. iii, incorrectly cites Toudouze as one of Labrouste's first three pupils.



526. quoted 'Souvenirs d'Henri Labrousse' op.cit. p. 24.
527. quoted 'Souvenirs d'Henri Labrousse' op.cit. p. 35.
528. quoted Delaborde op.cit. p. 19.
529. Delaborde op.cit. p. 14.
530. Hauteceur op.cit. VI p. 248 - 249.
A. Soubies op.cit. III p. 115 ff.
H. Delaborde 'La Vie et les Ouvrages de M. Duc', Paris, 1879.
Carnesson 'Louis Duc' R.G.A. XXXVII, 1890, p. 75 ff; p. 150 ff
Paul Sédille 'J. L. Duc'. Encyclopédie d'Architecture. 2nd
série, VIII. 1879 p. 65 ff.
J. L. Pascal 'Duc' Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1879 p. 430 ff.
531. quoted Delaborde p.6.
532. Gourlier op.cit. II.
533. Félix Narjoux op.cit. Vol. I.
534. cf. Charles Garnier's adulatory critique 'A Travers les
Arts' Chap. III, pl. II - though one may contrast to
this Charles Blanc's much more realistic and damaging
criticisms in the Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. XXV, 1868.
535. Sédille op.cit. p. 69.
536. Sédille op.cit. p. 68.
537. Sédille op.cit. p. 68.
538. Viollet-le-Duc 'Entretiens sur l'Architecture', II,
Paris 1872 p. 209 n. 1.
539. Hauteceur op.cit. VI esp. p. 261 - 273.
Soubies op.cit. III p. 146 ff.
G. Davioud 'Funérailles de M. Léon Vaudoyer' Paris
1872 - also R.G.A. XXX 1873 p. 67 ff - a portrait of
Vaudoyer is reproduced Pl. 51.
E. Beulé 'Funérailles de M. Vaudoyer' Paris 1872.
E. Viollet-le-Duc 'Mort de M. Vaudoyer', Gaz. des
Arc itectes et du Bât, 1872 no. 3 p. 17 ff.
L. Duc 'Funérailles de M. Vaudoyer' Paris 1872.
V. Baltard 'Funérailles de M. Vaudoyer', Paris 1872.
Henri Revail 'Léon Vaudoyer' Paris 1872.
'Catalogue de l'Exposition des Dessins de L. Vaudoyer
à l'Ecole des Beaux Arts', Paris 1873.
Paul Sédille 'L'Exposition des Dessins de L. Vaudoyer'
Chronique des Arts, March 1, 1873.



540. Duc. op. cit.
541. Courlier op.cit. I.
542. cf. Hauteceur op.cit.VI p. 151 fig. 110.
543. Bulletin de la Société Centrale des Architectes, 1873
p. 90 ff. quoted Hauteceur op.cit. VI p. 263.
544. Yet Duban and Labrouste were self-consciously allied to
the literary Romantic movement to the extent of sending
seventeen of their pupils to the first night of *Hernani* -
cf. 'Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie'.
545. Thiéms-Becker op.cit.
546. Hauteceur op.cit. VI p. 268 - 272 fig. 228 - 232.
547. quoted A. Soubies op.cit. III p. 108.
548. Hauteceur op.cit.VI p. 51.
549. Paul Sédille 'J.L.Duc Architecte' op.cit. p. 73.
550. Questel 'Notice sur Duban' op.cit. p. 8.
551. Charles Blanc 'Félix Duban et ses Dessins' op.cit. p.60.
552. The drawings are at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris.



CHAPTER II

Gothic archaeology and the romantic revival of the Middle Ages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

- A taste for mediaeval romance survived in the aristocratic
- 1 circles of sixteenth and seventeenth century France. Forebears,
real or make-believe, became objects of especial reverence
 - 2 (many books on heraldry, for instance, were published in these
years) and their deeds were recalled and remembered. Retro-
spection, however, requires no firm foundation on fact, and
interest in the actual remains of the Middle Ages or in the
well-founded and often accurate accounts of the mediaeval
chronicles did not increase. Poets, story-tellers and singers
had transposed the realities of the mediaeval world to the



fabulous. Roland and Ronceval - Huon de Bordeaux and Le
3 Seigneur Bayart (le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche) -
served as symbols, half-venerated, half-mocked, of 'le temps
jadis'; a remote and splendid epoch to which the mind might
travel for ease and refreshment and the heart for consolation.
The Middle Ages seemed as abstract and ideal as any other
Golden Age, the more so since the heroes of the old romances
had been canonized in the lands of the south; in Spain and,
in particular, in Italy. The art of Ariosto and Tasso had
4 transformed the legends of gothic France into tales of timeless
enchantment; touching the imagination of the French and giving
to their image of the Middle Ages an atmosphere of classical
ease and well-being, even of paganism. Herberay des Essarts's
unrivalled rendering of 'Amadis de Gaule', published in Paris
in 1940, was based on Spanish and Portuguese poems; while
later versions of the epic were derived from Bernardo Tasso's
'l'Amadigi' printed in Venice in 1560. 'Roland Furieux,' an
extremely popular work, was taken from Ariosto's epic;
published first in 1543, in Lyons, it ran into several editions,
and was issued in over twenty other translations and imitations
in Paris alone, before the century was out. 'Jérusalem
Delivree,' the most compelling of these romances, was adapted



from Torquato Tasso's 'Gerusalemme Liberata,' written to glorify the families of Italy and France. Its appeal to snobbery in the seventeenth century was almost irresistible.

- 5 'Un fratre de livres,' Montaigne remarked, 'à quoi l'enfance s'amuse' - yet he felt bound to concede that these heroic works served to satisfy fancy in the most agreeable manner. Read for the pleasure that we now find in science fiction or detective thrillers, these books provided an escape from the rationalism and the routine of seventeenth century life. Even their illustrations were unauthentic and detached in character; curiously classical in spirit. Heroes were helmeted and encased in the formalized cuirasses that so delighted the artists of the Renaissance, and their settings were remote and timeless. Poussin himself accepted these
- 6 conventions, and his representations of Rinaldo and Armida on the Fortunate Isles (illustrating episodes in the XIVth book of 'Gerusalemme Liberata') were as free from mediaeval associations as his paintings of 'l'Age d'Or.'

That mediaevalism constantly overlaps, or fades into, this romanticism is a fact which it is scarcely necessary to emphasize. But in scholarly and in critical circles such speculation was, inevitably, restrained and controlled. Mediaeval studies were, from the first, so rational and



precise that they evoked little romantic response. Writers of histories and guide books, spreading through France a knowledge of the Middle Ages that reached, ultimately, to the humblest of pilgrims, succeeded in modifying the complex illusion that was cherished in aristocratic circles, and in substituting for it an array of facts and figures which, if they did not make present the past, at least made clear the differences between the culture of the Middle Ages and that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The germs of this self-conscious mediaevalism are discernible not only in the books on heraldry and blazonry that appeared in France in the sixteenth century - Etienne Pasquier's 'Recherches de la France,' in particular - but in the early architectural guide books of the period. The first and most famous of these was written, not altogether surprisingly, by a humanist - Gilles Corrozet (1510 - 68), a publisher, author of many miscellaneous, seemingly-learned works and the translator of several Latin and Italian classics, among them Leon Battista Alberti's 'Deifira' and Giangiorgio Trissino's 'Sophonisba.'

The first version of Corrozet's guide - 'La Fleur des Antiquites et singularitez de la noble et triomphante ville et cite de Paris' - was published in 1532. In the following years it was reprinted often, revised and enlarged both by



Corrozet himself (1550 and 1561) and by Nicolas Bonfans, likewise a publisher, who in 1563 brought out an amended edition under the title 'Les Antiquites, histoires, chroniques et singularitez de la grande et excellente cite de Paris.' The definitive edition of this work was not, however, issued until 1568, when Jean Rabel rewrote it and added a scholarly supplement.

I 83
10 Corrozet's guide was a success. Succinct and easily consulted, though not free from naïvete and exaggeration, it provided a relatively reliable and adequate description of the metropolitan buildings including those of the Middle Ages. Of the Sainte Chapelle, Corrozet writes 'laquelle, selon le jugement des architectes, est l'ouvrage le plus hardy de deca les mûts. Car elle contient deux parfaits bastimens d'Eglise, une chapelle dessous et une dessus, en laquelle n'y a une seule colonne ny appuy, sinon celles qui environnent et sont l'édifice, qui sont si hautes et droites, qu'il semble (avec ce qu'elles sont mûes et delices) que l'édifice ne pourrait endurer la moindre injure du ciel.'

This rather perfunctory tone is used throughout the book, and characterizes the descriptions of gothic monuments given in Corrozet's second, less spectacular, guide -



11 'Catalogue des antiques erections des villes et cites des Gaules et de fleuves et fontaines d'icelles, ' printed in Paris in 1538. Though straightforward, however, his accounts of gothic buildings are not without interest. They indicate a curiosity and, in particular, a concern for the structural lightness of gothic architecture not, as a rule, associated with the sixteenth century. The implications of this connection, though clearly important, must be set aside for the moment to be dealt with in another chapter. That gothic architecture was even looked at in these years is sufficient for the present.

12 Corrozet was not, in the sixteenth century, the only author of guide-books. In 1575, the Abbe Bertrand wrote the 'Antiquitez, et singularitez de l'Abbaye de S. Denis,' modelled, as its title suggests, on Corrozet's study. Five years later Nicolas Chesneau published 'l'Histoire de l'eglise, metropolitaine de Rheims,' a translation of Flodoard's tenth century Latin work. Not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, was Corrozet's authority in any way challenged.

Then, in 1605, 'Les Fastes, Antiquites et choses les plus remarquables de Paris', was published. Its author was Jacques Dubreul, a Benedictine scholar of the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres. Grounding his study of the work of Corrozet and the researches of Pierre Bonfans (probably the son of Nicolas



Bonfans) Jacques Dubreul produced an historical and descriptive guide to Paris that became the standard handbook for almost all scholars and sightseers in the seventeenth century. The success of 'Les Fastes, Antiquités et choses les plus remarquables de Paris,' or, as it was later known, 'Le Théâtre des Antiquitez de Paris,' cannot be questioned. It was re-edited and corrected often; twice by Dubreul himself in 1608 and 1612 - and on three occasions by his successors - in 1618, 1639 and 1660. Moreover, it was imitated twice; in 1640 by Claude Malingre who paraphrased it with wilful wrongheadedness and in 1685 by Le Maire, an abler adapter though a less stimulating author.

The advance in learning that Dubreul's work shows over Corrozet's successive guides is impressive; it is far more accurate in matters of fact and more reasonable in accounting for ancient legends; it gives, however, no evidence of any initiative in the appreciation of gothic architecture. The state of gothic connoisseurship was on the whole quiescent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of Notre Dame de Paris, Dubreul remarks - 'ce qui est à admirer, c'est que depuis la fondation, rein ne s'est desmembré, tant dedans que dehors,' - and of the Sainte Chapelle he says - 'j'ay appelle admirable l'édifice de cette chapelle royalle, pour être eslevé et soustenu sur des colonnes qui semblent



estre trop foibles à raison d'une si grand change: pour ce qu'il y a deux chapelles l'une sur l'autre, l'une appelle la basse, l'autre la haute chapelle.' What these remarks reveal, however, is an unchanging ability among scholars and, presumably, their readers, to analyse the architecture of the Middle Ages rationally, without emotion or subjective comment.

- Following the trend of Dubreuil's book, a number of
- 18 historical surveys appeared in the early years of the seventeenth century; suggesting a growing interest in the ancient buildings of France. In 1606, Sebastien Rouillard wrote his 'Traité de l'antiquité de la Sainte Chapelle du Palais,' and three years later, his lively, though thoroughly inaccurate, 'Parthénie ou histoire de la très auguste et très dévotte eglise de Chartres.' Dom Doublet published his 'Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys en France,' in 1625, and Nicolas Bergier 'Le Dessein de l'histoire et antiquités de Rheims' in 1635.
- 19 Yet all these works, studies of individual gothic buildings, are remarkably reserved in their estimates of mediaeval architecture; they make no critical comment worthy of note and, certainly, show no new understanding of the style. They are, essentially, historical studies. Designed to pay homage to the church and the religious orders; all lay emphasis on the antiquity and the enormous power of the catholic church and are, consequently, stamped as works of ecclesiastical

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propaganda. Yet, fanciful or precise, reliable or unbelievable, they are the products of an antiquarian movement that was beginning to stir in France; to be developed, with patience and indefatigable energy, by a group of scholars and critics who, it is generally recognized, laid the foundation for modern historical criticism.

20 By the end of the sixteenth century it was possible, in France, to regard the Middle Ages as a distinct and wholly separate period - an era fundamentally different from the present. Scholars who were able to grasp this essentially historic view of the Middle Ages, started to investigate its development. These historians belonged to two, not wholly disconnected, groups: humanists, who had already learned to enquire into the nature of classical antiquity and were thus, by analogy, willing to accept the validity of an independent mediaeval culture, and ecclesiastics who had always taken an interest in their own past.

The leading laymen of the first group are honoured even today: André Duchesne (1584 - 1640) known to compilers of encyclopaedias as 'le père de l'histoire de France; the author of the 'Historiae Normanorum scriptores antiqui' (Paris, 1619) and the 'Historiae Francorum scriptores
21 (1636 - 1649) - the only surviving sources for many mediaeval
22 charters - and Du Cange (1610 - 1688) another 'father of



French history', remembered for the 'Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis' (Paris, 1678) and the 'Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis' (Paris, 1688) - two works of immense importance in the history of Latin and Greek philology. Though they consulted an infinite number of charters, diplomas and mediaeval manuscripts and scrupulously and with unremitting industry set down the results of their researches they did not add greatly to the
23 existing knowledge of mediaeval architecture. Nor did they show any enhanced appreciation of the style. Duchesne's prime concern in establishing the dates of several gothic buildings - if one is to judge by his very successful 'Antiquitez et recherches des villes, chateaux et places remarquables de toute la France', printed first in Paris in 1610, again in 1614, 1622, 1629, 1637, 1647, and in an edition, completely revized by his son, Francois Duchesne, in 1686 - was to settle the line of succession of various noble families. Duchesne was, apparently, indifferent to the expression of mediaeval architecture, as likewise, one must for the moment assume, were his associates.

The ecclesiastical historians of the seventeenth century are not, today, readily recognized. They have missed the just reward of praise and influence that is their due; perhaps because they followed after Duchesne and Du Cange and their



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24 friends. Historical research was not effectively begun in monastic circles until the third decade of the century and then it was, virtually, the work of one order - the Benedictine congregation of Saint Maur, centred on the Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés, in Paris. In 1632, Dom Gregory Tarisse, the supervisor-general of the order, directed that the energies of the congregation should be focussed on historical study. His main purpose was to promote the publication of new, amply annotated editions of the writings of the early Christian saints; but he further foresaw the preparation of a definitive history of the Benedictine order and a series of serious studies on the provinces and important centres in which it had been, or was still active. Work was soon started on this undertaking, and pursued with steady adherence to the highest principles of truth and accuracy; resulting, ultimately, in no less than fifty-eight magnificent works, comprising one hundred and ninety-nine folio volumes; seven hundred studies of a lesser nature and almost a thousand manuscripts, some of which were published during the nineteenth century, but most of which are kept, unread and strangely unremarked, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Despite the impetus that Jacques Dubreul and Dom Doublet, both of whom became members of the Maurist congregation, must



have given to topographical studies, no new historical surveys of the towns and provinces of France were issued by the Benedictine scholars of the early seventeenth century. The results of their researches did not, in fact, begin to appear until, in the middle of the century, Dom luc d'Achery and Dom Menard published a few pious, strictly devotional works. The first important book to be produced on the basis of the accumulated learning of the Maurists was the 'Opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti et congregatione S. Mauri,' printed in Paris in 1667. The

25 author was Dom Jean Mabillon (1632 - 1707) a devout and austere scholar, revered alike for his religious zeal and critical sagacity. He was the finest of these seventeenth century historians. With d'Achery and Ruinart he wrote the 'Acta' of the Benedictine saints - printed in 1668 - elaborating their lives with an account of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the early Middle Ages. But he showed no new interest in the art or the architecture of the period. Indeed, apart from a series of excavations that he carried out in 1655, at the age of twenty-three, at the abbey of Nogent, there is no evidence to show that he attached any importance whatever to the artistic fragments of the Middle Ages. Yet, he cannot have been entirely unmoved by gothic art.

Certainly, the one member of this group about whom we have



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adequate information - Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580 - 1637) - liked the apparent artlessness of mediaeval seals, statues and stained glass windows. And Peiresc's likings were always conveyed to his friends. To Rouen Sallette, a member of the Parliament of Normandy, he wrote in January 1622, from Belgentier, his home in Provence -

27

'nous avons ici M. Rubens, peintre excellent des Pays Bas, lequel pour l'amour de moi a apporté quant et lui de très rares pièces de son cabinet tant en empreintes qu'en dessins qu'il a faits exprès, le plus exactement du monde, et plusieurs originaux de camaïeux et gravures antiques de grand prix, parmi quoi, sachant ma délection aux gothiques, il m'a apporté un cinquantaine de pièces des plus jolies qui se puissent voir' - and to Rubens himself, Pieresc wrote on another occasion -

28

'Il est certain que beaucoup de choses sont dignes d'attention, quelle que soit le rudesse de leur facture; par exemple, les vêtements des naturels de l'Inde, du Pérou ou de l'Afrique, bien qu'ils soient faits d'écorces d'arbre, de plumes, de peaux et d'autres matières de très peu de valeur, ils ne laissent pas d'être regardés avec plaisir par les hommes les plus éminents et les plus curieux, et cela avec beaucoup de raison, car souvent on les préférera à des vêtements de soie que nous voyons tous les jours. Je vous dis tout cela pour



que vous m'excusiez, si je prends plaisir à m'occuper de ces objets grossiers' -

This is an extraordinary confession; stamped with a wholly unconventional spirit out of place in the splendid, classical atmosphere of seventeenth century France. Yet Peiresc's sensibility was not, in other respects, so different
29 from that of a number of artists, antiquarians and scholars engaged in widening the boundaries of knowledge and experience. His interests and standards of taste are not, indeed, unaccountable. He published only an edition of 'Les Tournois du Roi René,' but left a mass of manuscripts, scattered now in libraries in the south of France, on the old, Provençal language, local history and genealogical tables and, appropriately, a 'Traité des oeuvres bizarres de la nature'. He commissioned drawings of stained glass
30 windows, statues and tombs and Suger's treasure at S. Denis.
31 He collected old, illuminated title pages, maps and portraits of the kings of France and delighted to clutter his study with these works and an array of objects, rare or antique: rocks of a curious shape and colour, petrified plants, stuffed humming birds and an Egyptian mummy; mediaeval armour, medals and cathedral seals; coin and other intriguing bric-a-brac. His room was a 'Kunst und



Wunderkammer' of the kind described and disparaged by Galileo
32 (Peiresc's master at Padua university) in his 'Considerazioni
al Tasso;' where he compared the chimerical and outlandish
nature of the 'Gerusalemme Liberata' to the jumbled and -
to him - meaningless collections, strangely satisfying to
contemporaries. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that
Peiresc's liking for what he recognized as the coarse, somewhat
primitive appearance of gothic artifacts was not known to his
friends, not only in France but throughout Europe. Peiresc
was probably the liveliest and most widely acquainted of
seventeenth century scholars. He counted among his special
friends, such men as Baronius, William Camden and Sir Henry
Spelman, William Harvey, whose theory on the circulation of
the blood he was the first to verify experimentally; Rubens
and van Dyck; Hugo Grotius and the astronomer Godefroy
Wendelin. Peiresc was, moreover, a close friend of Andre
Duchesne, with whom he collaborated in the writing of the
'Historiae Normannorum scriptores antiqui', and was sufficiently
well-liked by Dom Gregory Tarsse to be appointed abbot of the
Benedictine abbey of Guitres in 1618. Peiresc's ideas must,
33 therefore, have been known to many of his contemporaries.
However, even if some of these may have shared them, they were
not at once taken up. For only towards the end of the



century was a more responsive attitude to gothic architecture evident in the writings of a handful of scholars - some of them closely linked to the congregation of St. Maur.

The Benedictines themselves showed no great change of sensibility. One of their lesser scholars, J. F. Pommeraye, wrote two works which, one imagines, might have been the occasion for a more persuasive criticism of gothic architecture -

I 34, 85, 86, 87 ' l'Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de St. Ouen de Rouen, ensemble celles des Abbayes de Ste. Catherine et de St. Amand' (1662) and ' l'Histoire de l'Eglise cathédrale de Amiens' (1686) -

both are worthy books; but they are unremarkable as architectural criticism. Similar works were being prepared

34 by Edmond Martene, Noel Mars and Jean Huynes; but their manuscripts were not set up in type until the late nineteenth century, when dry, almost unreadable books on gothic architecture were once again de rigueur. The 'Monasticon Gallicanum',

35 compiled during the late seventeenth century by Dom Michel Germain (1645 - 1694) does, however, provide a valuable record, in the form of one hundred and sixty eight engravings of the monastic buildings of the congregation of St. Maur. The

I 22, 27, 90 36 birds-eye view of the abbey of St. Maixent, in the diocese of Poitiers - almost the only building put up by the Benedictines



during the course of the seventeenth century - reveals a church in a rather elaborate, late gothic style - a monument of gothic survival rather than revival, built between 1670 and 1682. In antiquarian literature, the first step forward in an appreciation of gothic architecture was taken by Victor Sablon, a Canon of Chartres Cathedral, and the translator of the 'Jerusalem Libérée', in his *Histoire de l'Auguste et vénérable église de Chartres*, published in 1671 (and again in 1683, 1697, 1707, 1714, 1715, 1767, 1774, and 1864).

37 'Ce temple,' Sablon wrote, 'est merveilleux en son
architecture,
Merveilleux en son art, non moins qu'en sa structure,
Merveilleux au dedans, merveilleux au dehors,
Et merveilleux enfin en tout son vaste corps,
Il est immense et vaste, et de structure antique,
L'ordre gothique l'orne avec le Mosaïque,
Et par leur ornement et leur antiquité,
Il le font vénérable à la postérité.'

New sentiments are evident in this passage. In particular, the words 'ordre gothique', indicate a readiness, scarcely conscious, to recognise the gothic style and to accept it as a counterpart to classical architecture. But, for the most part, Sablon's
38 view of gothic architecture is similar to Corrozet's, though Sablon's work is amateurish in the extreme - 'l'oeuvre de Sablon', Lelong wrote, 'est un méchant abrégé de la Parthénie de Rouillard, rempli de fautes grossières.' This is especially evident if one compares it with Jean François



Felibien's (1658 - 1733) 'Recueil historique de la vie et des ouvrages des plus celebres architectes', which came out in 1687. Felibien was the eldest son of the famous connoisseur, Andre Felibien, friend of Poussin and secretary to the Academy of Architecture. In his 'Recueil' Jean Francois offered a brilliant, if sharply apprehensive, estimate of gothic architecture. Though he was not concerned with gothic alone. Starting with the buildings of Babylon he tried to trace the history of architecture in Europe and the Middle East up to the end of the fourteenth century. His method was quite direct and his critical comment was brief. Subjects and situations, characters and stories, the lengths and breadths of buildings, and their dates, were set down side by side in a chronological sequence. The book is full of newly-arranged facts, urgently appealing to be interpreted and, as far as may be, related. But it is in his exploration of gothic architecture that he is the most intriguing.

Felibien invested it with a simple historical sequence. Proceeding quite directly from what he considered the first, 39 coarse structures of the sixth century - a tower at the abbey of St. Germain des Pres and another at St. Pere de Chartres - he followed the phases of mediaeval building, recognizing the 40 importance of Charlemagne's work at Aix-la-Chapelle, but showing no real warmth for anything earlier than the



41 the cathedral of Chartres - 'il ne s'en est point fait
alors, de plus beau, de plus solide, ni de plus grand'.
And he went on, with a quickened sympathy, to deal with the
42 abbey of St. Denis and, in particular, Suger. 'Suger,
Abbe de S. Denis,' he wrote, 'doit estre considéré comme
un des personnages les plus intelligens dans l'architecture
qui ayent paru pendant le douzième siècle. Il fit refaire
et augmenter l'église de S. Denis, prit luy-mesme la
principale conduite de cet ouvrage, le commença vers l'an
1140 et l'acheva en moins de dix années avec une magnificence
extraordinaire, ainsi qu'on peut apprendre plus particulièrement
par la description qu'il en a donné luy-mesme.'

In short tributary passages he also dealt with the
architects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, showing
a happy sense of awareness of their individual talents -
43 'Pierre de Montreuil,' he recorded, 'a fait plusieurs ouvrages.
On tient que c'est de luy la Sainte Chapelle de Vincennes et
de la Sainte Chapelle de Paris; le refectoire, le dortoir,
le chapitre et la chapelle de Nôtre Dame qui sont dans le
monastère de Saint Germain des Pres. En effet tous ces
edifices ont este construit presque dans un mesme temps,
et sont à peu près d'une mesme maniere de travail. La
Sainte Chapelle de Paris, quoy-que petite, est néanmoins fort



estimée, tant à cause de sa grande délicatesse, que par la beauté des proportions générales, qui ne cèdent en rien à celles qu'on remarque dans quelques-unes des plus célèbres églises de France. On peut dire la même chose de la Chapelle de Vincennes et de la chapelle qui se voit à St. Genain des Pres.'

He explained, as far as he was able, the grandeur of the cathedral at Amiens, the richness of that at Reims, and of Notre Dame de Paris; he wrote of the intricacy and refinement of St. Ouen at Rouen and, in wonder, of the towering facade of the cathedral of Strasbourg. His criteria are, it is true, simple and unsubtle. Size and structural excellence and, perhaps, proportion are the basic standards of his judgements. But they speak of a mind curious before the great grey drama of gothic; consciously seeking the springs at the touch of which ignorance and bewilderment would begin to recede. Félibien's research, as critics readily recognized, was not entirely original. Most of the buildings that he described had been the subjects of earlier studies. But his

44 accumulation of facts allowed him, for the first time, to divide the gothic style into two distinct categories - gothique ancien and gothique moderne, roughly corresponding to what we term today pre-Romanesque and Romanesque, and Gothic architecture.



'A l'égard des bastimens gothiques,' he said in his preface, 'il n'y a point d'auteurs que en ayent donné des règles: mais on remarque deux sortes des bastimens gothiques; scavoir d'anciens et de modernes. Les plus anciens n'ont rein de recommandable que leur solidité et leur grandeur. Pour les modernes, ils sont d'un goust si opposé à celui des anciens gothiques, qu'on peut dire que ceux qui les ont faits, ont passé dans un aussi grand excès de délicatesse que les autres avoient fait dans une extreme pesanteur et grossiereté, particulièrement en ce qui regarde les ornemens.'

Such is the simple prelude to gothic archaeology. Though it contains evidence of attentiveness and observation it is without that sense of real esteem which, as we have seen, characterized Peiresc's approach to mediaeval art. Yet Félibien's freedom from conventional prejudice is remarkable.

- 46 A contemporary of such men as Molière and Bossuet and Fénelon, all of whom were repelled by gothic architecture and were not averse to saying so; a member of the Academy of Architecture, inured to the rules of Vitruvius and a clearly defined classical system; Félibien tried to assess the architecture of the Middle Ages with detachment. And he continued to
- 47 do so.



22

In 1699, he published a discursive account of two of Pliny's houses to which he appended a short 'Dissertation touchant l'architecture antique et l'architecture gothique.' Most of this Dissertation is taken up with comments, more or less flattering, on Francesco Colonna's 'Hyphantomachia Polyphili,' published first in 1499, but the few pages that are devoted to gothic architecture are highly significant. Felibien not only confirmed his earlier estimate of gothic as a complete and coherent historical style; but sought, with some ingenuousness, to trace its rise and fall.

48 He regarded gothic architecture as an art of aberration - 'les architectes qui ont bâti ces édifices,' he wrote, 'dans la meilleure maniere du goût dont nous parlons, justifioient les principes de leur art par des raisons qu'il étoit impossible de combattre en des temps où l'ignorance des lettres, la difficulté de recouvrer un livre unique de la bonne architecture qui étoit celui de Vitruve, et plus que cela la destruction presque entiere de tous les bâtimens de l'antiquité empêchoit de rien opposer aux édifices modernes.' Yet, he sought an explanation for the forms of gothic architecture; and found one; natural to an intelligent, classical architect. Drawing a neat parallel to the Vitruvian concept of classical architecture



13

49 - as an architecture that was based, ultimately, on the
forms of a rustic shelter - he identified the 'pesanteur et
grossierete' of early mediaeval architecture with 'la
rusticite des antres et des cavernes que des peuples
septentrionaux habitoient autrefois; and the 'grand
exces de delicateesse' of gothic architecture with 'la
50 legerete de ces feuillées d'arbres qu'on rencontre dans
les bois, on que des habitans de climats temperes, font
eux-mêmes, pour se donner de l'ombre en rase campagne.'

Nature, as agreed by all architectural theorists, was
thus the basis of gothic architecture. The slender shafts
and ribs, the intertwined traceries and the whole structure
of the great gothic cathedrals became, by analogy, forest-
51 born forms - 'on voit,' he wrote, 'une infinite de colonnes
fort menues. Ce font comme autant de rameaux et de tiges
d'arbres. Il s'en eleve quelquefois plusieurs ensemble
de haut d'un même pilier qui leur sert comme de souche.
Quelquefois ces petites colonnes sont liées par fasceaux
des le bas del'edifice. Elles cachent des massifs tres
hauts qui portent les voutes. Elles soutiennent des
arcs doubleaux semblables à d'autres branches fort deliées,
et par consequent tres propres à se ployer de la maniere
qu'on les voit.'



This theory did not in any way detract from Felibien's more rational estimate of gothic architecture; it served rather to enhance his appreciation of gothic, as opposed to classical construction. For he saw at once the essential, structural differences between the buildings of the Middle Ages and those of the classical world - 'c'est sur ces principes de solidité et de beauté véritables et apparentes,' he wrote, 'que l'architecture antique est fondée. De là vient que les colonnes anciennes ont été taillées à l'imitation des troncs d'arbres, et non pas de ces branches flexibles auxquelles on compare les colonnes des ouvrages gothiques, et qui ne semblent propres tout au plus qu'à soutenir des feuillages et des fleurs pour des berceaux de jardin, ou des couvertures faites d'étoffes légères pour des tentes et des pavillons dont on se sert dans un camp.'

His simile is sound and based on observation. A gothic cathedral is, structurally, similar to a tent. The sense of economy, even over-refinement, of structure, that he recognized in gothic buildings seemed to him the essence of mediaeval architecture - 'l'usage des arcs surhaussés,' he remarked, 'et des ogives servait à diminuer la poussée des voûtes, et donnait lieu aussi d'en diminuer beaucoup

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la change et l'épaisseur' - so that when the emphasis on structure and structural expression was replaced, in late mediaeval work, by a liking for rich and delicate ornamentation, the art of the gothic builders declined and was degraded.

54 'L'Architecture gothique,' Felibien declared, 'ne pouvait plus se détruire qu'en se corrompant elle-même. Il fallait que ceux qui l'exercoient effaçassent dans leurs ouvrages jusqu'à l'idée des premiers principes de leur art; et c'est en effet ce qu'on a vu arriver, dès qu'ils ne l'ont plus fait consister que dans l'amas confus d'une multitude infinie d'ornemens, et dans une hardiesse de travail démesurée. Les derniers édifices gothiques devinrent par ces excès semblables, pour ainsi dire, à ces ouvrages délicats qu'on appelle aujourd'hui filigrane, ne conservant presque plus rien de la simplicité, de l'ordonnance, ni de la solidité des anciennes églises qu'on a remarquées.'

Felibien's statement on the rise and fall of gothic architecture undeniably represents an advance in the seventeenth century understanding of the style. Not that his information was new. His analysis of gothic construction was, as we shall see in another chapter, derived from books



by engineers and architects. His poetic explanation of the origin of gothic is inherent in Leonardo da Vinci's
55 decorations in the Sala delle Asse in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, and is elaborated in an early sixteenth century letter to Pope Julius II, sometimes thought to have been written by Raphael. But Felibien was, it seems, the first Frenchman to set down this theory.

Felibien was not a scholar. He had not the scholar's temperament, but he had quickness of mind and liveliness of vision that distinguishes his writings from those of the learned historians. He can scarcely be called the founder of French gothic archaeology. But his books mark the beginning of that detached enquiry into the origin and subsequent transformation of gothic architecture associated, as a rule, with archaeological study. We have only to compare the account of Notre Dame in the first edition of Germain Brice's 'Description Nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris,' printed in 1685 - two years before the publication of Felibien's 'Recueil' - with that in the third edition of 1697, to see the effect of this new not-quite-archaeological interest in gothic. While
56 in 1685 Germain Brice was aware that Notre Dame was not the work of one, or even of two centuries; he was able in 1697



to offer a full, if incorrect, account of the changes in its style - indeed, in the mediaeval style as a whole.

57 'l'ouvrage de cette église,' he wrote, 'est d'une architecture gothique, des plus belles et des mieux entendues qu'il y ait en France, quoi qu'à l'examiner avec attention, on remarque qu'elle ne soit pas dans le même goût par tout; cela vient sans doute de ce que ce grand édifice aiant été construit à diverses reprises, fait éloignées l'une de l'autre, on n'a pas trouvé à propos de suivre la même intention et d'observer les mêmes règles. Mais l'on excusera aisément ce défaut si l'on fait réflexion avec quelques curieux de l'antiquité, que l'architecture gothique, de même que l'ancienne architecture, a eu ses âges et ses degrés de perfection, lesquels on peut rapporter à quatre époques de l'histoire de France; à savoir, au règne de Dagobert, de Charlemagne, de Robert et de Philippe Auguste, sous lequel cette manière de bâtir acquit toute la perfection et toute la beauté qu'elle a eu. Cela dura jusqu'au règne de S. Louis, ou un peu plus bas, comme on le voit par quantité de très beaux ouvrages restés de ces temps-là; entre les autres le portail de S. Nicolas à Reims; S. Ouen, à Rouen; l'église de Sainte Croix, à Orléans; l'église de l'abbaye de Royaumont, à sept lieues



de Paris, et surtout la Sainte Chapelle de Palais.'

Here, for the first time, mediæval architecture was separated into four phases. The concept was probably not derived from Germain Brice's own research but from an intelligent reading of Pelibien's 'Recueil.' For Germain Brice was neither an antiquarian nor a scholar. His book
58 was based on the works of Corrozet, Dubreuil and others and was not, and was not intended to be, an exposition of learning. Indeed, the 'Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris', is the first popular guide to Paris. Modified and altered, greatly
59 enlarged, it ran into ten editions, serving as the standard handbook for all tourists, travellers and sightseers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Gothic architecture, naturally enough, is not often discussed in this book. But the broadmindedness with which Germain Brice and his successive editors described the Sainte Chapelle and Notre Dame suggests that there was a popular liking for gothic buildings - a liking for lightness of structure, a liking for size and venerable age. For that far-away passion aroused by Tasso and Ariosto was given new strength and new substance at this period by means of that
60 new medium, the opera. In 1684 *Amadis* was first presented



as an opera, and in 1685, 'Roland', by Lulli and Quinard, was given its first performance in Paris. During the following year, Mlle. Rochias, singing in 'Armide', started a fashion for 'ces boutes de manche tout galonnées d'or et brodées.' Such aspirations to historical accuracy were, however, rare. The fashionable world continued to dream of a remote, timeless age of chivalry.

But antiquarians explored the Middle Ages with increasing vigour around 1700. The most searching was probably Francois-Roger de Gaignieres (1642 - 1715), a man of the most brilliant and various accomplishments. He was received and saluted as a genius at the abbey of St. Germain des Prés and, at the same time, was courted as a magnificently handsome fop in the salons of Paris. He was not, however, well off. But like other young men of considerable talent and no estate, he felt justified in claiming some reward. In 1669 he became secretary to the Duc de Guise; two years later he entered the household of the young duke's wealthy aunt, Mademoiselle de Guise. He took full advantage of his position. He worked hard and well in the great Guise library and started a miscellaneous collection of manuscripts and bibelots; annexing several items in the châteaux of his mistress. Soon he acquired the reputation of an 'amateur distingué'.



he visited and corresponded regularly with other scholars and historians and added largely to his collection of documents. Then, in 1687, he transferred it to a plain and comfortable house that he had built in the rue de Sèvres - then on the outskirts of Paris. The house served as a fashionable rendez-vous for an amazing assortment of people - even Madame de Montespan visited it, and by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century writers, dukes and coach-loads of tourists travelled daily to the rue de Sèvres to see the odds and ends, the armour, manuscripts and pictures of the kings of France that Gaiguières had gathered there.

63 'Il remasse, depuis fait longtemps,' said the editor of the sixth edition of Germain Brice's guide, in 1713, 'un cabinet sans pareil si l'on considère qu'il contient une infinité de choses concernant les bas siècles qui ne se trouvent point de tout ailleurs. Il est rempli d'une très grande quantité de portraits de toutes les personnes qui ont laissé quelque nom, dont le nombre monte à 27,000; entre lesquels il y en a de très rares, plusieurs topographies enrichies des vues et des singularitez de chaque pais; avec ces choses, un grand nombre de livres, d'estampes, de cartes, de plans de ville, de batailles, de pompes funebres, de carrousels, de tournois, de ballets et de fêtes galantes. Le meme cabinet fournit les dessins de plus considerables



tableaux, de même que des vitres des plus belles églises de France, copiées très fidèlement avec leurs couleurs, ce qui n'a pu se faire sans bien des peines et de la dépense, et dont personne, jusqu'ici ne s'étoit encore avisé, quoique d'ailleurs, cette recherche a l'examiner de pareils, ait de grandes utilitez pour les généalogies et pour les foundations.'

The importance of this collection cannot be over-estimated. Yet its special significance seems to have been largely unrealised by early eighteenth century sightseers. Its fascination derived not so much from a new and serious interest in the Middle Ages as from an inclination to like the strange, evocative account of life in mediæval times that Gaignières gave as he showed his visitors round. For when, in 1715, he died, leaving the house and its contents to the state, interest in the collection lapsed and two years later it was summarily sold and dispersed.

But the great distinction of Gaignières as a scholar of the Middle Ages lay not in any readily recognisable results of his studies - he published nothing of any importance - but in the earnest and methodical manner in which he approached his subject. He introduced an element

64 of order into gothic studies. In 1695 he started a



a systematic survey of the monuments of France. Travelling
each year from province to province, together with Louis
65 Boudan, an inept and uninspired artist, he gathered together
a record of inscriptions, of stained glass windows, sculptured
details and even of whole churches, quite without precedent.
Dom Germain, it is true, had tried to record the buildings
of the congregation of St. Maur, but the range of Gaignière's
undertaking was infinitely wider and his detachment more
archaeological. His journeys, inspired no doubt by the
celebrated 'voyages littéraires' that Bollandist and Benedictine
scholars were making, must rank as the first real attempt to
provide a record of French mediæval antiquities.

The drawings by Boudan which resulted from this survey,
66 now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bodleian Library,
in Oxford, are eloquent reminders of the state of early
eighteenth century gothic connoisseurship. They are stiff
and naive, adequately showing the simple geometry of the
building masses but suggesting nothing of the movement and
the splendour that we see today in gothic churches.

Not unconnected with this desire to record was the
suggestion that Gaignières made in 1703, to M. de Pontchartrain,
the secretary of State, to make the government responsible for



the preservation of historical monuments. Strangely enough, Portchartrain was impressed by this unprecedented proposal and wrote to the King, recommending it - 'On pourrait engager M. de Gaiguieres dans l'execution de ce dessein, ayant fait des recherches pour la maison royale, et pour tout ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans le royaume pendant plus de quinze ans qu'il a voyagé dans les provinces avec des dessinateurs et des écrivains. On en peut avoir un eschantillon dans les desseins qui seront joint à ce mémoire.

Il paroist nécessaire de luy donner un arrest de Conseil pour l'autoriser à certifier les desseins qu'il fera exécuter. Il s'en servira avec discretion, crainte de faire soupçonner que l'on ait quelque autre vue que celle de conserver les monumens on pourrait commencer au printemps prochain, par le Bourbonnais et le Bourgogne, où il y a plus de monumens de la maison de Bourbon'.

But fear of the suspicion and misunderstanding that such a survey might arouse apparently ruled the king's mind. For nothing came of Gaiguieres's proposal. However, his other attempts to explain and classify the antiquities of France were not so easily set aside and forgotten. His influence on his contemporaries was strong. And he, not Pelibien, is, I



would suggest, the true instigator of gothic archaeological study in France.

Before he died, however, the study of gothic architecture was set on a new foundation by the Jesuit, Father Tournemine, founder and editor of that excellent review, the *Memoires de Trevoux*. Around 1710 he suggested, for the first time in France, that the gothic style originated not in the north but in the south; that it derived directly from the buildings of the Moors in Spain. The concept was certainly plausible and intriguing. It was soon accepted by scholars, though there were, throughout the eighteenth century, those who protested hotly against the idea. Discussed in the nineteenth century, it survives even today, to bedevil gothic archaeology. Some responsibility for this theory, it should be noted, attaches to Jean-Francois Felibien. For its genesis can, in some measure, be seen in his studies. Though in the 'Recueil' he wrote of the Alhambra and the Alcazars of Spain, he did not connect their architecture with the gothic buildings of France - 'La maniere de bastir des Sarazins ou Arabes,' he wrote, 'non seulement ne se trouve enseignée par aucun auteur qui en ait prescrit des règles, mais on ne voit pas mesme en France des édifices qui puissent servir d'exemple,



et donner moyen en les examinant, de juger avec certitude en quoy ils pouvoient estre diférens des autres. On peut en apprendre quelque chose des personnes qui ont vu les bastimens que les Mores ou Arabes ont laissez en Afrique et en Espagne, où sont les restes de plusieurs Mosques, chateaux et Palais, tels que de l'Alhambre, de l'Alchazar et de divers autres édifices qu'on voit à Grenade, à Seville, à Tolède et ailleurs.'

But when, a few years later, he suggested in his short 'Dissertation' that 'gothique moderne,' or gothic architecture proper arose, by rustic analogy, in a warm and southern region, he at once prompted speculation on the sources of the style. Having thus posed his question and provided the relevant information for an answer, Félibien might, one imagines, have arrived at Tournemine's hypothesis himself. But it is to Tournemine that the term - 'le style Mauresque' is due with all its implications.

Despite the personal achievements of such men as Tournemine, however, gothic studies were dominated by the Benedictines of St. Maur. They made the most prolonged and serious study of the Middle Ages. Never once did they subordinate observed facts to fanciful ideas. Small wonder, therefore, that they failed to arouse any popular interest.



The 'Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Germain des
Prés' by Don Jacques Bouillart, though written in the closing
years of the seventeenth century, was not published until
1724. Don Henri Sauval's 'Histoire es recherches des
antiquités de la ville de Paris,' completed in 1695, was
likewise not published until 1724, though other, less
sternly objective historians had shown that such works could
meet with success and though Gaignieres had succeeded in
stimulating a popular curiosity in the Middle Ages.

Indeed, such buildings as the Sainte Chapelle and Notre
70 Dame were now extolled in pamphlets sold to travellers
and pilgrims. Moreover, in 1716, they found a special
advocate in Claude Saugrain, the author of 'Les Curiositez
de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Vincennes, de St.
71 Cloud, et des environs.' This lively and well-illustrated
guide - which almost supplanted Germain Brice's book in
popular favour - included descriptions of other mediaeval
72 buildings: Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, Saint Germain des
Prés, and, of course, the abbey of S. Denis, which had long
attracted tourists to its royal tombs. In addition, the
73 'Nouveau Voyage de France,' which Saugrain published four
years later, contains accounts of the hospital at Beaune,



I 92,93

the cathedrals of Reims, Rouen, Montpellier, Troyes, Strasbourg and Chartres, and the Abbey of Mont St. Michel.

But however much we may admire the generosity and the freedom from classical convention with which Saugrain writes of gothic architecture, however intrigued we may be to read, over and over again, of 'la beauté' and 'la grandeur', 'la magnificence,' 'la hardiesse' and 'la légèreté' of gothic construction, it is impossible to contend that Saugrain's appreciation of gothic architecture is, inherently, different from that encountered in the work of Corrozet or Dubreul. In fact, throughout the 'Curiositez de Paris' Saugrain praises cathedrals with the reservation 'quelque gothique'. The immense difference between the guide books of the early sixteenth century and those of the early eighteenth century lies rather in the number of mediaeval buildings described. Saugrain certainly listed more than any of his predecessors. A further indication of the increasing interest in gothic architecture that this fact implies, is his curious statement, twice repeated, with slight variations, in the 'Nouveau voyage de France,' that

74 an ideal gothic cathedral could be constructed by taking 'le choeur de Beauvais, la nef d'Amiens, le portail de Reims, les tours de Paris, et les clochers de Chartres.'

But if the Benedictines did not descend to writing these



popular guide books they established the facts and the figures upon which such works were based. In the early years of the eighteenth century all the serious apologists of the gothic style were, in one way or another, linked to the abbey of Saint Germain des Prés: Jean Francois Félibien had a brother
75 there, Germain Brice a nephew, while Caignières, as has been remembered, was received and acclaimed there, an intimate friend of Mabillon.

I 94
76 Don Michel Félibien (1686 - 1719) was an historian of repute. In 1706 he published his 'Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Denys en France,' a book which even today -
77 according to Professor Samuel McKnight-Crosby - is sound and entirely reliable as a source of information. But it is a critical history, careless of architectural study. During the following years Don Michel Félibien worked on an history of Paris, presenting a summary of his proposed publication to the King in 1713. He died, however, before he could complete the
78 work, and it was taken over by Don Alexis Lobineau, the future recorder of Brittany's history, who supervised the printing, in 1725, of the five vast folio volumes of the 'Histoire de la Ville de Paris.' Two of these volumes describe the history of the town, the others serve as appendices, containing copies of manuscripts, charters and other documents, letters etc.

I 94a,b



Never before had an annalist backed his assertions by such an array of records. Never before had it been thought necessary to set down so much accumulated information. The remarks on the subject of mediaeval architecture are, in contrast, unspectacular. For, though Felibien and Lobineau verified a number of dates and established a handful of new ones, they had not the critical capacity to relate their findings to the style of mediaeval architecture. They were unable to contribute to the advancement of archaeology. Their appraisals of gothic buildings are, moreover, almost direct transcriptions
79 from Jean Francois Felibien's 'Recueil'.

The monks of Saint Germain des Pres were not, however, without all understanding of gothic architecture. Though most of the topographical and historical studies that they produced in the following years tend to be disappointing, those
80 of their greatest scholar, Montfaucon, and his successor, Abbe Jean Lebeuf, are undeniably rewarding. Bernard de Montfaucon (1660 - 1741) controlled the workshops of Saint Germain des Pres after Mabillon's death in 1707. The son of noble Languedoc parents, Montfaucon grew up as a gentleman, and for several years travelled around Europe as a soldier. He was adventurous and lively. He had connections at court, and continued to correspond with his powerful friends and relatives



long after he had settled at St. Germain des Prés. In 1719
he was made confessor to the King. Small wonder, therefore,
81 that he was described as 'terrestre'. But his scholarship
remained unimpeachable. His books betray no hint of the
imaginings and aspirations of a courtier; they are laborious
and precise. Even Voltaire, in one of the rare moments in
which he was prepared to forget his anti-clerical passion,
82 said 'Montfaucon est le plus savant antiquaire d l'Europe'.

In 1702, having returned from Rome, where he was entrusted
to represent the Benedictines in the great controversy that
raged around their new edition of St. Augustine's works, he
83 published the 'Diarium Italicum', a handbook on Italian
libraries. It soon became a standard work and was twice
translated into English in the course of the century. During
the years that followed he wrote a number of erudite works,
among the most important being the 'Paléographie Greque',
printed in 1708, a counterpart to Mabillon's study of Latin
diplomacy. But the most spectacular and successful of
Montfaucon's works was 'Antiquité Expliquée', published first
in 1719, in ten folio volumes. Five supplementary volumes
were added to this total in 1724. This staggering compilation
established Montfaucon as the greatest authority on Egyptian,
Greek and Roman antiquities in all Europe.



He turned then, with that fine tolerance characteristic of French historians, to the study of mediæval antiquities. In 1725 he published the prospectus of a proposed work: 'Les Monuments de la Monarchie Française'.

84 'Il y a longtemps,' he wrote, 'que j'ai ce dessein en vue et que j'en connais l'importance et l'utilité; c'est comme une suite de "l'Antiquité Expliquée" que je viens de donner au public. Les deux ouvrages sont de même nature, et l'un commence où l'autre finit. Le premier a cet avantage qu'il nous représente des images des temps les plus florissantes de la Grèce et de Rome, au lieu que le second nous montre d'abord celles des siècles de plus de barbarie. Mais, outre que le goût et le génie des temps si grossiers sont un spectacle assez divertissant, l'intérêt de la nation compense ici le plaisir que pourraient faire des monuments.'

This study was to be in five separate sections: a general history of France; a survey of her churches and ecclesiastical buildings; the life and customs of her people; warfare and military strategy; and, almost as an appendix, a record of the tombs of her famous men.

The range of this programme is remarkable. But its most remarkable feature - in our context - is the intention to
85 survey the buildings of the religious orders - 'On y verra,'



107

Montfaucon explained, 'la forme des anciennes églises, l'origine de ce que nous appelons le gothique, les plus belles églises gothiques du royaume, les parties remarquable des églises, comme les jubés, baptistères, croisées, portails, les candélabres, les plus anciens diptyques.' Here the most ambitious of Gaignières's ideas might have been revived. But, despite Montfaucon's invocation of the nationalist spirit, the general reaction to his prospectus was not favourable. Several friends sent him letters of warning, predicting failure for the work. Others were merely sceptical. Joseph de Seytres, Comte

96 de Caumont, wrote from Avignon on 7th April 1725 - 'on m'a écrit de Paris que vous ferez bientôt imprimer le recueil des antiquités gauloises et françaises, en quinze volumes en folio. Le temps du moyen âge ne peuvent vous fournir que des monuments peu intéressants. Le goût gothique qui s'était emparé de l'architecture est presque toujours le même. La structure des palais, des églises, des châteaux, etc., est lourde, pesante; ce sont des masses de pierre assemblées presque au hasard; les tombeaux, les facades d'églises sont dans un goût tout différent, mais qui ne vaud pas mieux; on peut admirer dans ces sortes de monuments la patience de l'ouvrier à peu près comme on admire celle des Allemands de Nuremberg à faire ces babioles d'ivoire dont ils remplissent toute l'Europe.'



17
But a small group of enthusiasts saw the point of the project. They wrote to Montfaucon, paying tribute to the daring of his undertaking and insisting on its value. President Bon, a collector of documents and mediaeval manuscripts, wrote on 10th May 1725, from Montpellier to Montfaucon in Paris:

- 87 'Rien n'est plus digne d'un bon citoyen et d'un habile homme
comme vous que ce nouvel ouvrage; il nous en manquait un, et
je ne puis point comprendre que tant de siècles se soient
écoulés sans que personne y ait pensé'. Similarly, the Marquis
88 d'Aubais, more enthusiastic in his approval, wrote from the Midi
to pledge his support and offer his services in the investigation
of documents and mediaeval antiquities - 'je vous avoue,' he
said, 'que pour mon goût, tout tourne vers les derniers siècles.'

Montfaucon was not long discouraged by the unequal reception
promised for his book. With sly perception of the vanities of
89 his countrymen, he sought to dedicate it to the King. The King
90 accepted, and immediately subscriptions started to come in. The
financial success of the work was thus, he believed, more or less
ensured. Between 1729 and 1733 the first five volumes were
published. They dealt with the history of France. The wraths
and the slaughters, the pieties and the prides of her kings are
all there. The volumes are rich in detail and well-planned.
They were, moreover, intended to have popular appeal. For they
were written in French, though a Latin translation appears at the



foot of each page. Yet the dry precision of Montfaucon's scholarship dominates the work, is the focus of his passion for facts and his liking for a rigid chronology and his bitter contempt for intuitive interpretation. The 'Monuments de la Monarchie Française', is filled with information of the most varied kind, yet it is dull. In the context of this chapter, however, it is most memorable as the first printed record of
91 many of the drawings that Louis Boudan had done for Gaignieres.

Montfaucon's understanding of the buildings of the period
92 was limited - 'ce n'est que dans ces derniers temps,' he said, 'qu'on s'est aperçu que tout grossier qu'ils sont; ils instruisent sur bien des choses qu'on ne peut trouver ailleurs, ce différent goût de sculpture et de peinture en divers siècles, peut même être compté parmi les faits historiques.'

And one may wonder why he should have been prepared to devote so many years of his life to the study of mediaeval architecture and to the preparation of an authoritative work on the subject. Yet he struggled hard, though unsuccessfully, to publish the second section of the 'Monuments de la Monarchie
93 Française.' 'Pour la second partie', he told the Académie des Inscriptions in 1741, 'qui regardait principalement les églises de royaume, j'ai fait dessiner à grands frais les plus belles du royaume en assez grande nombre; mais quand il fallut les faire graver, les graveurs les mirent à si haut prix, que je ne



trouvai pas de librairie qui voulait s'en charger.'

A few months later he died.

Montfaucon's dispassionate survey of mediaeval culture was thus left a fragment. But the Benedictines remained the most assiduous and successful of mediaeval scholars in France.

- 94 Montfaucon's successor was his younger contemporary the Abbe Jean Lebeuf (1687 - 1760) of Auxerre. His work was solid rather than brilliant, discursive rather than profound, but he showed a new, and more urgent understanding of gothic archaeology and was not, it seems, entirely inane to the evocative charms of mediaeval buildings.

- 95 He wrote through life a number of books and pamphlets, studies for the most part of the religious history of towns like Soissons and Auxerre, slyly directed against the Protestants and inclining, strongly, to support the Jansenists. These works contain remarkably few references to mediaeval buildings, but Lebeuf's early liking for them is revealed, in a footnote, in the 'Histoire de la prise d'Auxerre par les Huguenots et de la délivrance de la même ville, les années 1567 et 1568', printed in Auxerre in 1723.

- 96 'Les connoisseurs en antiquitez ecclesiastiques,' he writes, 'distinguent quatre sortes de structures dans les anciennes églises de France. Une qui a été en usage sous la première race de nos rois; et ils l'appellent merovingiaque. La seconde



depuis Charlemagne jusques vers le milieu du treizieme siecle, et ils lui donnent le nom de carlovingiaque, la troisieme est la gothique qui a été usitée depuis le tems de S. Louis ou environ jusques sous Francois I et Henri II. La derniere enfin qu'ils appellent ecclesiastique a commence vers le regne d'Henri II. Mais depuis environ soixante ou quatre vingts ans on ne batit plus dans aucun de ces gouts anciens.'

Where these categories were established it is difficult to say. But they evidently superseded the rather rough, and less accurate, distinctions that Germain Brice had made in 1697 and indicate at the same time the considerable development that had occurred in gothic archaeology in the early years of the eighteenth century. That Lelouf further elaborated this system of classification in inspecting gothic buildings is
97 evident from the notes that he took on a journey to Clairvaux in 1730. Intended as a 'voyage litteraire', this journey took him to many small and insignificant churches and chapels; but more revealing than the list of manuscripts that he found in these places are the comments, spontaneous and personal, that he made on the mediaeval buildings he saw. Of St. Germain,
98 a church near Vergigny, he writes: 'le clocher en est nouveau, de figure carrée. Le bâtiment de l'église est simple, mais on y voit des fragments de vitrages qui sont du XIII siècle.'



- 99 He noted, likewise, 'en allant à Neuvy Santour, on trouve
 Chaing, hameau de cette paroisse: ce Neuvy n'est pas mûré,
 le patron est St. Symphorien. Le chœur de l'église et la
 croisée sont couverts d'ardoises et travaillé de structure
 du XVI^e siècle; le nef est basse et a des ailes, les
 100 portails des deux cotés sont magnifiques --' At Bar-sur-
 Aube he recorded 'St. Macloù est un eglise canoniale et
 paroissiale, construite en croix, sans galeries et sans
 passage derrière le chœur. C'est un gothique naissant:
 il y a un jubé. Au côté gauche de cette église est un
 tour, la plus mal tournée du monde et que est tout biais,
 101 contenant cependant quatre clochers.' 'Le nef', he said,
 of the church at Landreville, 'est du XII^e ou XIII^e siècle.'

These jottings, curiously confident and matter-of-fact
 in tone, reveal at once an eagerness, unusual in the
 eighteenth century, to record each church observed, however
 humble and uninspiring in appearance. Yet there are but
 rare hints, both in these random notes and in Lebeuf's more
 learned writings of any deep, nineteenth century fondness
 for gothic buildings. In his 'État des Sciences en France
 102 depuis la mort du roy Robert, arrivée en 1031, jusqu'à celle
 de Philippe le Bel, arrivée en 1314', published in 1741;
 and, more particularly, in his famous and much-used



'Histoire de la ville et du diocèse de Paris', printed between 1754 and 1758, he showed that his knowledge of gothic archaeology was tolerable but gave no evidence of any new liking for gothic architecture. He was able to distinguish the differences of style in the carvings of the buildings that he described and was able thus to date them with some little accuracy. He was indeed a pioneer in the analysis of gothic architectural detail. But he was unable, it seems, to synthesize his hard-won knowledge. His contemporaries, however, thought of him as something of a prodigy. M. Lebeau, 103 reading an 'Eloge de M. l'Abbé Lebeuf' to the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, in 1764, said - 'les voyages et les lectures de M. l'Abbé Lebeuf l'avoient tellement familiarisé avec les monumens, qu'il apercevoit les différences les plus délicates de l'ancienne architecture, il dévoiloit, du premier coup d'oeil, les caractères de chaque siècle; a l'inspection d'un bâtiment il pouvait dire, quelquefois a vingt années près, dans quel temps il avoit été construit; les ceintures, les chapiteaux, les moulures portaient à ses yeux la date de leur bâtisse: beaucoup de grands édifices ont été l'ouvrage de plusieurs siècles, plus encore ont été réparés en des siècles différens; il décomposoit un même bâtiment avec une facilité singulière,



il fixait l'âge des diverses parties, et ses décisions étaient toujours fondées sur des preuves indubitables; on en trouve une foule d'exemples dans son histoire du diocèse de Paris.'

The conventions of academic discourse make this statement treacherous evidence. But Lebeuf was able to discriminate between the major styles of mediæval architecture and was always keen, if not correct, in his dealing with the sculptured details and glass of gothic buildings. His estimate, moreover, was always the result of serious study and analysis, not haphazard guesswork. On occasion, however, his interest was revealed as more than curiosity. When in 1736, Jean Aubert, a pupil of A. J. Gabriel, was commissioned to replace the existing gothic cloister and refectory of the abbey of

104 Chealis, Lebeuf wrote to a friend - 'Rien de ce qu'on fera n'approcherait en délicatesse de ce qui est aujourd'hui sur pied'. And he pointed to the example of S. Denis, where Robert de Cotte's recently completed refectory stood - 'il saut aux yeux', he said, 'que les édifices du douzième et treizième siècles sont ravissans par leur délicatesse, tandis que ce qu'on élève depuis cinquante ou soixante ans, en fait de cloître et de refectoire, est massif et grossier'. Anyone, he concluded, who could like these buildings had 'le gout dépravé'.



And, a few months later, he wrote, sadly, - 'je viens d'apprendre qu'on commence actuellement à abattre tous les édifices de cette magnifique abbaye pour les refaire à neuf, n'en réservant que l'église seulement. Je vous exhorte de les aller voir pour la dernière fois, et de vous hâter. Ce sera un régal pour les curieux et pour les amateurs de l'antiquité, si l'on prend le soin de copier les plus anciennes et les plus courtes épitaphes du cloître et le dessiner le grand réfectoire, le dortoir, la chapelle de l'infirmerie, le cloître, le chapitre, qui sont les principales pièces, de la beauté et délicatesse desquelles je puis assurer par avance, que tout ce qu'on bâtera à la moderne n'approchera pas, ainsi que j'ai oui dire à de bons connoisseurs.'

These letters - there were three in all - were published in the *Mercure de France* in 1736, 1736 and 1740. They seem to have prompted some discussion, but were without any real and resulting effect. For his singular attempt to save the buildings of Chaalis, Lebeuf incurred only the rage of his literary-minded contemporaries. He was, moreover, misunderstood by his fellow historians, several of whom accused him of sentimentality. Yet his letters are, on the whole, free from those romantic sentiments that had provoked Vanbrugh's plea for the preservation of Woodstock Manor twenty-five years before.



Lebeuf was the last of the great Benedictine scholars.

- 107 His successors, Alfred Gauthier and Germain Poirier, researched further into the history of S. Denis, but achieved no distinction. The strength and high authority of the Maurist congregation of St. Germain des Prés - or as Montfaucon mockingly named it
- 108 'l'Académie Bernardine' - was slowly destroyed. Sapped in the early years of the eighteenth century, softened disastrously by the spirit of intellectual liberalism that replaced the austere, religious atmosphere maintained under Mabillon, the stern discipline of St. Germain des Prés was finally disrupted when, in 1737, Louis XV appointed Louis de Bourbon Condé abbot of the monastery. Its revenues were thenceforward squandered with scandalous magnificence and the authority of the congregation of St. Maur dishonoured.

The Benedictines were not widely influential in their mediaevalism. Their works appealed mainly to scholars. When they corresponded, they wrote to serious, useful men; antiquarians and researchers who guarded their knowledge. It would be incorrect, however, to believe that their great histories were without influence in spreading through France a new and intelligent interest in the architecture of the Middle Ages. They were plundered by the writers of guide-books; and a measure of how closely popular taste tended to conform



to that of specialists is the descriptions of gothic buildings in the guide-books. 'Hardiesses', and 'elegance de structure' occur repeatedly in descriptions of gothic cathedrals. These criteria are of course inherently French. An English gothic fancier reading the 'Description nouvelle de la cathedrale de Strasbourg et de sa fameuse tour' that Joseph Böhm published in 1733, would only with difficulty have understood the detachment maintained throughout - 'ce superbe monument d'architecture,' wrote Böhm, opposite an engraving of the tower, 'passe avec raison pour le plus beau morceau qu'il y ait au monde en ce genre, tant pour la hauteur, que pour la délicatesse de l'ouvrage, tout percé a jour, en sorte qu'en le regardant sous certains aspects, l'on a peine à concevoir comment elle peut se soutenir et resister aux injures des tems: il faut l'avoir vue.' This account contains no hint at those associations that were, even at this date, so important an element in the English love of gothic architecture. But before the last of the great Benedictine scholars had died, the idea of gothic retrospection was alive in France. It was, as can be imagined, part of the general early eighteenth century admiration for things English. Yet the English attitude to the Middle Ages was



- 111 not at first enthusiastically adopted. Beat de Muralt wrote in his 'Lettres sur les anglais et les français', published in 1724, of no liking for the remnants of the Middle Ages. Voltaire's 'Lettres philosophiques', printed two years later were written in praise of English philosophy,
- 112 not the arts of the picturesque. And even Mont-squieu, who returned from England in 1750, inspired to lay out a 'jardin anglais' on his estate 'la Brède', was unable to understand the English taste for gothic confusion and disorder -
- 113 'Un bâtiment d'ordre gothique', he wrote in his 'Essai sur le goût', 'est un espece d'enigme pour l'oeil qui le voit, et l'ame est embarrassee comme quand on lui presente un poeme obscur.' Rousseau likewise, who in 1760, in his
- 114 'Nouvelle Heloise', described the charms of the picturesque garden, had no taste for gothic architecture. He regarded it rather as a shameful phenomenon.
- 115 Yet the sentiments of English literature slowly permeated into France. Writers, in the following years, propagated the whole range of emotions; tenderness and simple delight; regret, langour and gentle melancholy, long familiar in England. Even the dramatic menace and sinister thrill of the gothic horror was early felt in France with the
- 116 production, in 1764, of Baculard d'Arnaud's play 'Le conte



de Comyngez.' During the next year Mme. Necker published her translation of Gray's 'Elegy'. Young's 'Night Thoughts' was translated in 1769, by Letourneur, secretary to the library of the Academie Francaise, who, in 1771, issued his fortuitous translations of Hervey's 'Meditations' and Gray's 'Elegy'. Madame d'Arconville entered this field in 1770, with her uninspired publication of 'Meditations parmi les tombeaux,' but it was not until 1774 that the authentic gothic horror burst on France with the appearance of the translation of the 'Castle of Otranto'. By the time Letourneur translated Shakespeare's plays and Ossian's epics in 1776 and 1777, the reaction to this English vogue was apparent in France. Voltaire, not altogether surprisingly, was one of the strongest opponents of this new taste. Though his own attempts to instil an intelligent interest in English literature - and Shakespeare in particular - had met with ridicule, he told the Academie Francaise in August 1776 - 'on traduisit bientôt tous les livres imprimés à Londres. On passa d'une extrémité à l'autre. On ne goûtait plus de ce qui venait de ce pays, ou qui passait pour en venir. Les libraires, qui sont des marchands de modes, vendaient des romans anglais comme on vend des rubans et des dentelles de point sous le nom d'Angleterre'.



This intrusion of the English literary vogue coincided with a quickening admiration for the French mediaeval past. Plays, operas and comic operas served to evoke the charms of mediaeval life with increasing frequency. Authors wrote of troubadours and gentle maidens, knights and battle-glorious heroes, with increased delight. There was nothing serious about these works. They were, almost unfailingly, frivolous stories set to a feudal theme. M. de Sauvigny's famous 'Histoire amoureuse de Pierre de Long et de sa très honorée dame, Blanche Bazu', printed in 1765, contains the whole essence of the genre. All is noble, all is virtuous; the taint of morbid horror is absent. The troubadour was established as the symbol of 'le temps jadis'. In 1770, the Nouvelle Bibliothèque Bleue' became the guardian of his honour. But this series was soon surpassed in popularity by the 'Bibliothèque des Romans', started in 1775 and continued until 1805. The ablest and most important contributor to this library was the Comte de Tressan (1705 - 1783), soldier, scientist and unsuccessful courtier. Surrounded by a host of imitators and disciples he dominated the world of 'troubadour' literature. He wrote of Houan de Bordeaux, le chevalier Robert, Tristan de Leonis and other, real and make-believe heroes. His followers and his rivals, Mayer and Contant, d'Orville, Paulry



and Fanny de Beauharnais wrote of Roual de Coucy, Guerin de Monglave, Ogier le Danois, Boolin de Mayence, St. Louis and Le bon Duc d'Armagnac. But whatever the names of these heroes, they seemed to re-incarnate those of Ariosto and

121 Tasso. 'Il en est du Roland furieux', said a critic in the 'Journal Étranger' in 1778, 'comme de ces jardins champêtres ou l'on aime à errer après s'être bein promené aux Tuileries.'

Even scholars succumbed to the troubadour myth. Lacurne

122 de Sainte Palaye (1697 - 1781), a friend of Montfaucon though an intimate of the idlest revellers, wove it deftly into the fabric of history. He wrote nothing of any importance in the early years of his life, but when, in 1758, at the age of sixty-two, he was elected to the Académie Française, he said -

123 'Il enhardit mon courage, et m'inspira le dessein d'étudier nos monumens historiques sur un plan beaucoup plus étendu que n'avaient fait encore ceux qui ont couru la même carrière.'

His studies of history were mainly literary. In 1759 the first two volumes of his 'Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie, considérée comme un établissement politique et militaire,' were published, and politely received. The third was not

124 printed until 1781. The work did little to encourage an interest in mediaeval remains. Lacurne de Sainte Palaye himself showed only a good-natured indulgence for things



125 gothic - 'la gothicité du costume', he wrote in his preface,
'l'habillement bizarre, le maintien roide et empesé des
personnages nous paroissent tout à fait plaisans, et nous
ne pouvons nous empêcher de sourire du mauvais goût de nos
ancêtres.' In 1774 the first of the intended twenty-five

126 volumes of his 'Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours' appeared.
It was extraordinarily successful and astonishingly well-timed.
It flattered the aristocracy and gave to the mediaeval past an
unprecedented charm. It stands, a beacon almost, at that moment
when the mediaeval vogue became an essential part of the French
eighteenth century romantic movement. But, as before, Lacurne
de Sainte Palaye was unconcerned with mediaeval objects.

127 During the remaining years of his life he worked on a vast
catalogue of mediaeval antiquities, but died before it was
completed.

Such a scholarly attempt to explore the reality of the
gothic world of imagination remained a rarity, and the
mediaeval myth remained an escapist fantasy. The troubadour
was too illusory a figure to demand concrete expression.

128 Representations, drawings and illustrations of episodes from
the mediaeval past were, almost unfailingly, unreal and remote.
Rare artists introduced authentic details into their drawings,
but most transposed the action of stories into a timeless
setting of classical convention.



129 Charles-Nicholas Cochin's Rolands, and Bayards are attired like
demi-gods. But some efforts were made to transpose the
mediaeval dreamworld from the realm of the fabulous to the
130 real world. Dupont de Nemours, reviewing the Salons of 1773,
1777 and 1779, strongly approved the gothic details introduced
into the paintings of Bayard, Du Guesclin and St. Louis. Though
these mock-mediaeval tableaux seem today disarmingly naive.
Halberds, helmets and spears, some pieces of armour and
occasional architectural details are used to evoke the Middle
Ages. Carle van Loo, one is hardly surprised to find, used
131 Montfaucon's 'Monuments de la Monarchie Francaise' for his
sporadic, and often dubious, details of gothic dress. Other
artists were less careful. Even Bernard Lepicie, who for more
132 than twenty years taught history to the pupils of the 'Ecole
Royale des Elèves proteges,' was uncertain of the appearance of
the gothic world. His large, 'Debarquement de Guillaume le
Conquerant en Angleterre,' painted in 1765, is an embarrassing
semi-classical study, somewhat in the style of Tiepolo.
Ambitious works with mediaeval themes were unusual until, in
1774, the Comte d'Angiviller was made Directeur general
133 des Batimens. 'Jusqu'a present,' he wrote in June 1775,
'il semblait qu'on ignorait les ressources que notre histoire
presentait pour la peinture' - and in the years that followed



he bought and commissioned a number of paintings and cartoons for tapestries to be woven at the Gobelins, giving an enormous impetus to the school of national history painting. However, he demanded 'le grand style', and his proteges, mediocre painters for the most part, tended to ignore the magic of commonplace, mediaeval objects. N. G. Brenet (1728 - 1792) introduced a gothic castle into the background of his 'Honneurs rendus au connetable Du Guesclin', exhibited at the Salon in 1777, but was, on the whole, unconcerned with the appearance of the mediaeval world. His 'Courtoisie du Chevalier Bayard', painted six years later, is almost lacking in any associative elements. L. Durameau (1733 - 1796), likewise showed only an intermittent and half-hearted interest in the feudal trappings of his Bayards and Du Guesclines, though his 'Contenance de Bayard', painted in 1777 displays a certain sympathy for mediaeval architecture. The lesser artists who regularly sent scenes of mediaeval history or legend to the Salon showed only the faintest feeling for the past. The banditti and shaggy-pine-trees painted by Salvator Rosa's uninspired imitators aroused livelier, more dramatic, sensations of the past. They were indeed more in harmony with the English literary vogue.

The first serious studies of gothic architecture among



- 136 painters were done by Pierre Antoine de Machy (1723 - 1807). In the Salon of 1775 he exhibited 'L'Eglise des Bernardins'; in that of 1777 'La Démolition de Saint Sauveur, rue St. Denys', and 'Deux Démolitions de la Conciergerie du Palais.' In later years he showed other, similar works; but the most strikingly effective studies of gothic architecture done at this period
- 137 were those of Pierre Joseph Lafontaine (1758 - 1835). In 1789 he exhibited an 'Intérieur de la cathedrale de Paris'; an 'Intérieur d'une église gothique, effet de nuit'; an 'Autre église gothique, effet de nuit'; and an 'Eglise gothique, effet de jour.' There were, in addition, three other gothic church interiors and an 'Intérieur de prison éclairé par une lampe'. In the Salon of 1791 he exhibited nine similar pictures; in that of 1795, five. All recall the church interiors painted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Pieter Neefs and van Steenwyck.

The inclination to represent the historical truth of the Middle Ages in the paintings of the late eighteenth century finds a parallel in the decors and gardens designed at the

138 time. Madrigals were sung in theatres to enhance the mediaeval atmosphere of Balloy's or of Baculard d'Arnaud's plays, and costumes were, with increasing frequency, designed with the aid of Montfaucon's 'Monuments de la Monarchie Francaise'. The most memorable of these early gothic reconstructions was



139 the production, in 1772, of St. Marc's 'Adele de Ponthieu'.
It was highly praised in January 1773 by the critic of the
Mercure de France, and, as can be imagined, Grimm extolled
the earnest effort to recreate what he recognised as a
thirteenth century setting.

Architects, no doubt under English inspiration, were
similarly stirred by this gothic nostalgia. In 1772, Jean
140 Laurent Goetz designed a row of shops for the south side of
the cathedral of Strasbourg. Crocket-bedecked and with
painted windows, they are a perfect example of what in the
nineteenth century was called in keeping. A year or two
141 later the Duc de Chartres set up a small, gothic pavilion
in the Parc Monceau. He was followed, soon afterwards, by
142 M. Bostoky, who commissioned a number of gothic conceits
for his park near Amiens. His architects were Olivier and,
I 96. 143 later, Bernard, who, in 1780, restored a gothic chapel at
Ourscamp. J. Ch. Krafft engraved these works in his
'Recueil d'Architecture Civile', first published in 1806
I 97, 98, 99 and 1807. Both there and in his other, less serious,
144 'Recueils' he bears witness to the speed with which this
145 gothic fashion spread. He shows a fanciful windmill in
I 100 the Faubourg du Roule, by Paris and another along the



146 road to Neuilly, by Belanger, who was likewise responsible
147 for a pump-house at Bagatelle and a handful of gothic conceits
at Sautery, his wife's estate. Even Kleber, the stern
classicist, laid out a vast park for the Prince de Mont-
belliard, bristling with gothic pavilions and gateways and
148 including a crusader's tomb and a rather euphemistically
termed - 'edifice de style gothique, destine a la reunion
des anabaptistes lors de la celebration de leur culte.'
The extent of this gothic revival can, however, easily be
over-rated. It was limited, almost entirely, to garden
decorations. Neither Krafft, nor his only serious rival,
149 I. G. Grolmann - whose 'Recueil d'idees nouvelles pour la
decoration des jardins et des parcs dans le gout Anglais,
Gothique et Chinois', was published in France between 1796
and 1802 - show any ambitious or workmanlike examples of
mock-gothic architecture. Krafft illustrates a single
150 country retreat near Raincy complete with finials and
151 pointed windows, and a design, prepared in 1801 by Coffinel,
for a scarlet lacquered library in the gothic style (it was
intended for the house in the Faubourg du Roule already
adorned with Paris's windmill) but otherwise his gothic
conceits are ornamental, garden features. Even in folly

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the French made no effort to imitate, let alone rival,
the splendours of Strawberry Hill. Their gothic conceits
were flimsy and quickly forgotten. Nor did they represent
any study of French gothic architecture. They were works
of English and German inspiration, products of fancy, most
152 aptly applied to cafes and theatres. Bricard's Paphos was
made into a gothic pavilion of pleasure. The Théâtre du
153 Marais was decorated with delicate clustered columns and
154 plaster pendentives, and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique,
decorated in 1766 by Célérier, was acclaimed the greatest
of gothic extravaganzas. Described in 1787 in Nougaret's
155 'Petits spectacles de Paris', and in 1805 in Kotzebue's
'Souvenirs de Paris', it might, paradoxically enough, have
156 served as a model for Henry Holland when, in 1791, he
redesigned the interior of Drury Lane.

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The literary vogue brought a new note into French
mediaevalism; new emotions and new sentiments were adopted.
Scholarly studies virtually ceased. An impression of the
mediaeval world was held more precious than an accurate
157 reconstruction. Descriptive histories and guide books
declined in number. Those that were published changed
somewhat, in character. Writers invoked 'la majesté',



'la sublimité', and 'l'air divin', of gothic churches,
rather than the more prosaic qualities admired by earlier
antiquarians. The altered attitude was expressed, perhaps
158 in its purest form, in 1753, by Abbe Laugier - 'Disons la
vérité', he wrote in his 'Essai sur l'Architecture', 'avec
des taches sans nombre, cette architecture a eu des beautés.
Quoi qu'il regne dans ses magnifiques productions une
pesanteur d'esprit et une grossièreté de sentiment, tout
à fait choquante, peut on ne pas admirer la hardiesse des
traits, la délicatesse du ciseau, l'air de majesté et de
dégage ment qu l'on remarque dans certains morceaux, qui
par tous ces endroits, ont quelque chose de désespérant et
159 d'inimitable'. Elsewhere, he wrote, 'J'entre dans l'église
de Notre Dame ... au premier coup d'oeil mes regards sont
arrêtés, mon imagination est frappée par l'entendu, la
hauteur, le dégage ment de cette vaste nef; je suis forcé
de donner quelques moments à la surprise qu'excite en moi
le majestueux de l'ensemble; revenu de cette première
admiration, si je m'attache au détail, je trouve des
absurdités sans nombre, mais j'en rejette le blâme sur
le malheur des temps, de sorte qu'après avoir bien épluché,
bien critiqué, revenu au milieu de cette nef j'admire encore,



et il reste en moi une impression qui me fait dire: Voilà bien des défauts, mais voilà qui est grand!'

160 Laugier's 'Observations sur l'Architecture', published twelve years later, confirmed, if they did not develop, this thesis, though in this work he invoked the theory of the rustic origin of gothic architecture - a theory, it is important to add, that had been bitterly refuted a few years earlier in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux'. Between 1738 and 1760 Pere Avril or, as he was sometimes called, the Abbé Haier, wrote a series of articles on the temples and churches of antiquity, in which, under the denomination of 'Temples Gothiques', he declared that the raison d'être of gothic architecture was ignorance; an ignorance and misunderstanding of the rules of classical architecture. The belief that gothic architecture was a distinct and entirely independent type of expression, deriving from natural sources was, he insisted, pure pretence. These articles were collected together and published, both in London and Paris, in 1774, under the title 'Temples Anciens et Modernes, 161 ou Observations Historiques et Critiques sur les plus célèbres Monumens d'Architecture Grecque, et Gothique,' but they seem to have provoked no particular comment. Discussion on what must be termed mediaeval archaeology was, as has been observed, rare at this period.

Not until the last decade of the century did the gothic



caprice assume a new dimension. The change was strongly
162 influenced by the exaggerated sentiment of Mrs. Radcliffe's
novels and the morbidity of the French 'Roman Noir', which,
as can be imagined, was received with deep emotion in the
years that followed the Revolution. Ducray Dumenil's
163 masterpiece 'Coelina ou l'enfant du mystere', published first
in 1799, ran into more than a million copies.

The three great protagonists of gothic study and
enthusiasm in these years were Aubin Louis Millin (1759 -
1818), Alexandre Lenoir (1761 - 1839), and, of course,
Francois Rene, Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768 - 1848).

Millin was a clever and highly versatile scholar - rather
too clever in the opinion of most of his contemporaries.
Originally intending to become a priest, he had abandoned his
calling in favour of a life of learning in the Royal Library,
where, in 1794, he was made Conservateur du Musee des
Antiquites, in succession to Abbe Barthelemy, and where, in
acknowledgement of Napoleon's eastern campaigns he later
lectured on the art and the antiquities of Egypt. In 1790
the first volume of his 'Antiquites Nationales ou Recueil
de Monumens pour servir a l'histoire generale et particuliere
de l'empire Francais', was published. Two further volumes
appeared in 1791, another in 1792, and the last in the



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year VII. These books abound in views of mediaeval churches and chateaux, drawn and described in a romantic manner. Of the tower of Montlhéry he writes - 'son élévation, sa dégradation, les ruines qui l'entourent, la petite chapelle qui l'avoisine, et la vue superbe dont on y jouit, offrent un aspect vraiment romantique' - and he quotes, in support, some lines by Boileau -

'Mille oiseaux effrayans, mille corbeaux funebres,
De ces murs désertés habitent les ténèbres.
La depuis trente hivers un hibou retire,
Trouve contre le jour un refuge assuré.
Des désastres fameux ce messager fidelle
Sait toujours des malheurs, le première nouvelle;
Et tout prêt d'en semer le présage odieux,
Il attendait la nuit dans ces sauvages lieux'

165
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But if Millin recognized the charms of ruins he did not minimize the picturesque attractions of gothic buildings still striking in their entirety. Of the Palais de Justice at Rouen he wrote - 'le bâtiment, par ses hautes pyramides et ses ornemens délicatement travaillés a un aspect véritablement imposant et d'un bel effet'. There are other, equally laudatory, passages in the 'Antiquités Nationales'; yet on the whole one cannot fail to see that Millin was intrigued rather than entranced by gothic architecture. When he considered it seriously and surveyed its history his judgement became qualified and sometimes hostile. 'L'Empire entier de l'Occident', he said in his long article on Notre Dame de



166 Mantes (prefaced, it must be admitted, by a descriptive
167 account of which Henry Adams himself would have approved)
168 'avait conspiré contre l'ancienne architecture, et les
cathédrales d'Europe en seront encore longtemps les tristes
témoins. De lourdes façades surchargées d'une multitude
innombrables de figures indecentes et ridicules, percées
constamment de trois portes hautes et étroites, servant de
base à deux tours d'une élévation et d'une grosseur effrayantes.
Un nombre prodigieux d'arc boutans découpés en mille façons
différentes, et ayant par dessus des voutes légèrement appuyées
sur le front des colonnes qui embarrassent l'intérieur, et qui
le partagent ordinairement en forme de croix'. At this point,
one imagines, Millin might have concluded that gothic
architecture was a triumphant symbol of the obsessive fears
of forest-born people; instead, like Meier and, apparently,
169 Pirne before him, he rejected the rustic theory as poetic
humbug. Gothic architecture, he said, was nothing more than
170 a clumsy interpretation of the rules of 'le vrai et le beau'.

His curiosity once satisfied, Millin did not develop his
interest in gothic architecture. In 1795, he started the
'Magazin Encyclopédique', a ponderous monthly similar to
the 'Gentleman's Magazine;' it faithfully reflected his



interests. It contains detailed discussions of the works of
 Kant, highly coloured tales, supposedly derived from Indian,
 Chinese and Persian sources. The names of Zoraine, Zulnar
 and Zallida whizz through the pages. There are articles on
 Erse poetry, Oriental languages and Ourang Outangs; and a
 single serious account of a unicorn found at the Cape of Good
 Hope - which must, it is safe to assume, have been a rhinoceros.
 Frenzied reviews of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels are tossed at
 readers; Dellile's and Legouve's poems are included to induce
 a gentle mood of melancholy. But, in all this wit and learning
 there was, before 1800, only one article dealing with gothic
 architecture. This, however, is quite an important piece. In
 171 1797, Ponce set down his comments on the 'Antiquités Nationales'.
 He agreed with Millin in most of his statements and was prepared
 to add to the band of heretics who had misinterpreted 'le vrai
 et le beau', the Persians, the Medes, the Egyptians, the
 Chinese and the Moors; but on the vital question of the origin
 of gothic architecture Ponce considered that Millin's argument
 was fallacious. The creators of gothic architecture, he said -
 172 'rapellent par la multitude de leur colonnes images des arbres
 ébranchés qui soutenaient les combles de leurs cabanes' - the
 great gothic cathedrals, he added, reflect the forms of the
 forest.



This reaffirmation of the old evocative theory first proposed in France, by Jean-Francois Felibien, marks the pre-romantic reaction to the theses of Maior and Millin and clearly prepares the way for Chateaubriand's poetic proclamation. But, by the time Chateaubriand's 'Genie du Christianisme' was published in 1802, the new, romantic taste for gothic architecture had been far more effectively elaborated by Alexandre Lenoir.

- 173 To the Revolutionaries gothic architecture was a symbol of the vested power of the feudal aristocracy and the church. Even after the great estates, the monasteries and the churches had become the property of the state, they were regarded as objects of despise; objects upon which the pent-up wrath of years could be vented. Buildings were freely plundered, they were wrecked and destroyed. After the final dissolution of the Orders in August 1792, there was even a period of organized destruction. Energetic municipalities were allowed to turn churches into markets, theatres and storehouses. S. Denis itself was to have its roof and vaults removed to make it into
- 174 a horse-market, but was saved. As late as 1800 a serious proposal - based on a suggestion in Vasari - for the 'Destruction d'une église, style gothique, par le moyen du feu,' was sent in to the Salon.



'Pour éviter les dangers d'une pareille opération', the anonymous exhibitor explained, 'on pioche les piliers à leurs bases sur deux assises de hauteur; et à mesure qu l'on ôte la pierre, l'on y substitue la moitié en cube de morceaux de bois sec, ainsi de suite; dans les intervalles, l'on y met du petit bois, et ensuite le feu. Le bois, suffisamment brûlé, cède à la pesanteur; et tout l'édifice croule sur lui même en moins de dix minutes.'

The extent of the devastation of gothic architecture is easily exaggerated. Speculators, who were by far the most powerful of the destroyers, found land more profitable than rubble. Though hundreds of chateaux did fall at the hands of demolition contractors, thousands were left to stand empty for want of a sale. And cathedrals and churches, having withstood the original assault of Revolutionary violence, were, for the most part, locked and left untouched. Efforts, somewhat ineffectual it must be admitted, were even made to safeguard them. In October 1790, when the rules for the confiscation of ecclesiastical property were outlined, a Commission of Monuments was formed to protect all the buildings taken over by the state and to collect the treasures with which they were filled. The commissioners had little power and no money. They could do no more than protest against mutilation and collect together



a large and miscellaneous assortment of objects, ranging from books, paintings and furniture to scientific instruments and such exotic rarities as Turkish hookahs. More forceful protests were made by Lakanal and, in particular, Gregoire who, in August 1792, presented the first of his famous reports - 'Sur les destructions operées par le Vandalisme et sur les moyens de le réprimer' - to the Convention. His tirade was well received, but not until the following year was the irresponsible destruction of national property made a serious offence, punishable by two years in irons. At the same time, two architects were added to the Commission of Monuments and an 'Instruction sur la maniere d'inventorier et de conserver', sent to provincial authorities. But inadequate power and lack of funds still limited the Commission's activities and confined them, more or less, to Paris. Here, no one was more diligent
176 in his work than Alexandre Lenoir.

In January 1791 he was made 'conservateur' of the nine depots formed in Paris by the Commission. In the following years he visited site after site in the company of the antiquary Leblond, collecting works of art and safeguarding and protecting buildings whenever possible. When, at the end of 1793, the Commission of Monuments was accused of unpatriotic activity and was replaced by an equally suspect 'Commission



Temporaire des Arts', Lenoir was allowed to retain his position - paradoxically enough, at David's instigation. In 1795, with the advent of the more liberal-minded Directorate, Lenoir proposed that the largest of his depôts, that of the Petits Augustins (now the site of the Ecole des Beaux Arts) be organized for display. His suggestion was approved, and within a few months, legal recognition was accorded to the 'Musée des Monuments Français' at the 'Petits Augustins'.

Lenoir's scheme to arrange a chronological display of French art was to invest gothic architecture with a renewed dignity. It became, once again, an accepted part of the national heritage. It assumed a special significance, in the years of the Directoire, as a symbol of an old aristocratic life to which a new and parvenu society aspired. Lenoir was an artist - he had dabbled in architecture and sculpture and had studied painting under François Boucher - and he did not hesitate to use all the artifice at his command to evoke sensations of a romantic past. In the garden of his museum he erected tombs and planted groups of shrubs, pine-trees and slender poplars. The tombs of Montfaucon and Mabillon were happily juxtaposed with those of Descartes and Molière; that of Clovis was there and so was Diane de Poitiers's; but by far the most celebrated was that of Heloise and Abelard.



177 This tomb consisted of fragments from a chapel from S. Denis together with some figures done by Lenoir's friend Descize.

Its popularity was enormous, enhanced no doubt by recent

178 translations of Pope's poem and the publication in 1797 of 'Lettres d'Héloïse et d'Abailard'. Within the museum itself

I 110, 111, 112 the Middle Ages were revealed in a similar aura of magic. The

tombs and sculptured figures of the thirteenth century were seen

through the impalpable veil of mystery that Lenoir wove around

them by means of subtle and subdued lighting effects. The low

vaults of the old refectory of the Petits Augustins were, in

addition, painted in ultramarine and scattered with stars of

gold. The more intricate remains of the buildings of the

fourteenth century were used to evoke a more lively, buoyant

mood. Lenoir moved thus from century to century, presenting a

pageant of French history. But what the romantics who saw his

museum took for historical truth was largely an impression

imposed by Lenoir himself. He was an indifferent scholar. He

extracted facts from writers such as Montfaucon and Félibien

but fused this knowledge marvellously with his own, highly

179 personal, vision of mediæval life. The two, finely illustrated,

descriptions and the twelve successive catalogues that he wrote

for the 'Musée des Monuments Français' show an ever-expanding



grasp of history; but he was clearly more attached to his own strange ideas than the facts of mediaeval history. These ideas were mainly of literary origin. The oddest and most significant of them is that concerning the pointed arch. It appears in the third volume of his *Musée des Monuments Français ou Description historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, bas reliefs et tombeaux des hommes et des femmes célèbres pour servir à l'histoire de France et à celle de l'Art*, published in 1802.

180

Lenoir held, first of all, that the pointed arch had been brought from the Holy Land by the early crusaders. He followed up this hypothesis with the suggestion that the origin of the pointed arch was Egyptian and could be traced ultimately to the egg - 'c'est une représentation', he wrote, 'de l'oeuf sacré considéré par les Egyptiens comme le principe créateur de leur grande déesse Isis.' Christianity, in Lenoir's opinion, derived from the mystery cults of the East; the iconography and decorative detail of gothic architecture was thus, inseparably linked to Greek and Persian religious representations. In particular, the symbolical significance of colour in mediaeval art related to that of the esoteric cults of the Ancients. Thus the colours with which the figures of Bacchus and Apollo were painted were used likewise, on images of Christ; the gold, the blue and the red with which gothic churches were decorated



represented 'la lumière, le ciel' and 'le feu' of eastern, mystical significance. Black remained the ineluctable livery adopted by evil forces. Quoting from Kircher, Lenoir enumerated a whole palette, shared, symbolically, by the East and the West. These relationships seem today of little importance; the ideas underlying them are, perhaps, to be explained by the fact that Lenoir was an ardent free-mason; yet they strongly inspired the contemporary image of mediaeval art - 'C'est le caractère vraiment asiatique', said Lenoir of his fourteenth century objects, 'que j'ai cherché à saisir dans la salle de ce musée destinée à recevoir les monuments de cet âge' - and one may judge of the success of this intention by Napoleon's remark 'Lenoir, vous me transportez en Syrie'. We can have nowadays no communication with Lenoir's visions, unless our image of fourteenth century France is adjusted to include something of the quality of the 'Pestiférés de Jaffa', painted for Napoleon in 1804, by Baron Gros.

But, however wrong-headed Lenoir's impression of the Middle Ages, his museum was one of those phenomena which capture the mind of a whole generation. By visually suggesting a relationship between a chivalric past and the actual forms of gothic architecture Lenoir gave to his contemporaries something of the assurance that Winckelmann had given to neo-classicists.



The attacks launched by scholars on the 'Musée des Augustins' had little effect, however justified they were. The atmosphere of poetry that pervaded this gothic storehouse slowly and relentlessly coloured the imagination of the young romantics.

184 Millin, reviewing one of Lenoir's catalogues in the 'Magasin Encyclopédique', in 1800, points out flaw after flaw in Lenoir's scholarship and learning and objects sensibly to the removal of statuary from its true setting - 'la plupart des figures qui se rencontrent dans ce musée', he says, 'ont perdu une grande partie de leur intérêt en perdant leur localité.' Yet he acknowledged the necessity of Lenoir's action and appreciated many of the Musée des Augustins's pleasures. Quatremère de Quincy attacked the museum on similar grounds and pleaded for the dispersion of this

185 'véritable cimetière des arts'. Fifty years later critics were more generous. They recognised Lenoir's real achievement.

186 Then M. de Guilhermy wrote in the *Annales Archéologiques* in 1852 - 'l'aspect de cet ensemble produisit une profonde impression sur les artistes et le public c'est de là certainement que date, dans notre pays, l'ère de la

187 réhabilitation de l'art du moyen âge.' Michelet was yet more enthusiastic - 'que d'âmes ont pris dans ce musée l'étincelle historique, l'intérêt des grands souvenirs, le vague desir de



de remonter les âges. Je me rappelle encore l'émotion
toujours la même et toujours vive, que me faisait battre le
cœur, quand, tout petit, j'entrais sous ces voûtes sombres
et contemplais ces visages pâles, quand j'allais et cherchais,
ardent, curieux, craintif de salle en salle et d'âge en âge ...
Je cherchais quoi? Je ne sais; la vie alors, sans doute, et
le génie des temps ... C'est là, et nulle autre part, que
j'ai reçu d'abord la vive impression de l'histoire'.

In 1816, with the restoration of the Bourbons, Lenoir's
museum was dispersed; its contents were returned to their
rightful owners or sent to the Louvre, though some lie
scattered still in the courtyard of the Ecole des Beaux
Arts and around the Palais des Thermes. The museum can still
be reconstructed in the mind with the help of Lenoir's
188 catalogues, contemporary paintings and the magnificent
189 published views of Vauzelle and Biet.

190 Chateaubriand was both fascinated and outraged by what
he called Lenoir's 'Elysee'. The opening lines of the short
chapter on gothic architecture in that chaotic work of genius,
the 'Genie du Christianisme' are an indictment of Lenoir's
191 methods - 'Chaque chose,' Chateaubriand writes 'doit être
mise en son lieu, vérité triviale a force d'être répétée,



mais sans laquelle, après tout, il ne peut y avoir rien de parfait'. The setting of a work of art, he said, was vital; to displace it was to deny its genius loci and to dispel the veil of love woven around it through the centuries. Age itself was thus a criterion of value. Let a church, an archway, a column, a stone, already seen and felt in ages past be seen and felt anew in the setting in which it was made to exist, and instantly the past would be awakened - 'on ne pouvait entrer dans une église gothique', Chateaubriand writes, 'sans éprouver une sorte de frissonnement, et un sentiment vague de la divinité ... l'ancienne France semblait revivre.' For gothic architecture, he believed, was imbued with the spirit of ancient France; to recapture and make himself one with this essence was his aim. In contemplating the gothic cathedrals, he held, one penetrated beyond the material reality, into the undisturbed depths of time, into the forests of Gaul of which the cathedrals were so faithful a reflection, and thus into the essence of nature itself - 'ces voûtes ciselées en feuillages,' he said, 'ces jambages qui appuient les murs, en finissent brusquement comme des troncs brisés, la fraîcheur des voûtes, les ténèbres du sanctuaire, les ailes obscures, les passages secrets, les portes abaissées, tout retrace les labyrinthes des dans l'église gothique, tout en fait sentir la religieuse horreur, les mystères et la Divinité'.



Chateaubriand was not a scholar. Poetry, mystery and imagination guided his thought. He acclaimed the researches of the Benedictines as 'une source intarissable,' yet he remained unconcerned with the facts and commonplace logic of such historians. 'Un monument gothique', he wrote in the 'Mercure' in 1801, 'peut plaire par son obscurité et par la difformité même de ses proportions'. Chateaubriand epitomizes the romantic sensibility after the fashion of Tasso (whose epics he preferred to those of Homer and Milton) until it became a religion in itself. He was not a convinced catholic when, in exile in England, he wrote the 'Genie du Christianisme'. He described his spiritual state as 'une nostalgie de dieu'. Yet the publication of his work was carefully timed to coincide with the signing, in 1802, of the Concordat, and was accepted as a symbol of renewed faith. Catholics might have admired the 'Genie du Christianisme' for its special symbolical significance, but all romantics found in it a satisfaction.

Chateaubriand's gothic image was inevitably popularized. After a short break, following the Revolution, troubadour novels became once more the fashion. Renouard, Lemercier and Alexandre Duval excited theatre-goers with their mediaeval phantoms. Painters captured moments of the gothic past on their



197 canvases. Girodet de Trioson and Gérard invoked the drama of
198 the Ossianic legends. Maurice Quai and that band of 'primitifs'
who removed themselves from David's studio aghast at what they
considered his lack of archaic severity, were ultimately seduced
by the charms of gothic. Rocquefort, Revoil, Richard Fleury,
Forbin, Grasset and Vernet deserted the Louvre for the 'Petits
199 Augustins'. And the Salon received from year to year more
200 works on mediaeval themes - 'Dans dix ans,' David declared in
1808 with some misgivings, 'l'étude de l'antique sera délaissée...
Tous ces dieux, ces héros seront remplacés par des chevaliers,
des troubadours chantant sous les fenêtres de leurs dames, au
pied d'un antique donjon'. And if David exaggerated slightly,
it was perhaps because he anticipated that his favourite pupil,
201 Ingres, would in a few years' time be painting mnemonic
202 illustrations of mediaeval history. By 1813, even the 'Hermite
de la chaussée d'Antin' thought that the troubadour vogue had
gone far enough - 'Qui me délivrera,' he wrote, 'des chevaliers
français?'

These facts might lead one to suppose that the enraptured
romantic host, bearing the 'Genie du Christianisme' before them,
would sweep through the whole field of art and learning. Such,
however, was not the case. Architecture remained an almost



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203 impregnable stronghold. Garden pavilions, some interiors and shop-fronts, as we have seen, were designed in the gothic style. Percier and Fontaine were persuaded to put up a pretty, patterned, gothic portico in front of Notre Dame, on the occasion of Napoleon's coronation in 1804, and Chateaubriand incorporated a few gothic details in his house at La Vallée aux Loups, reconstructed in 1807, but no large scale buildings in the gothic mode appeared. Antiquarian studies were likewise little stimulated by the romantic fashion. Erudite amateurs did, now and again, contribute articles to magazines and publish papers on the origin and development of the gothic style; but they tended to confuse rather than clarify the issues. Legrand reflects this confusion in his 'Histoire generale de l'architecture',
204 printed in 1809 - 'On doit,' he says, 'en conservant, si l'on veut, le nom générique, distinguer par un autre nom caractéristique tel gothique grec (du temps bas), gothique romain, sarrasin, arabe ou mauresque, gothique barbare avant Charlemagne, gothique lombard sous Charlemagne, et depuis gothique normand, saxon,
205 allemand, etc....' Even guide books are rare at this period, suggesting that the popularity of picturesque tours must have declined. There is no publication in the first decade of the century to compare with Millin's work. Apart from Lenoir's



catalogues the only important work on gothic antiquities
206 is N.X. Willemin's 'Monuments Francais inedits pour servir a
l'histoire des Arts', a compilation of bibelots and curious
gothic details, that started to appear in 1806 but was not
completed until 1839, when Andre Pottier's text was published.

From 1810 onwards, however, a more vital interest in gothic
architecture re-emerged. In May 1810 Alexandre de Laborde
(1774 - 1842) envoy of Lucien Bonaparte, author of the 'Voyage
pittoresque et historique en Espagne', printed 1807 - 1818,
prepared a questionnaire for the Ministre d l'Interieur, Comte
de Montalivet, attempting to collect information on châteaux,
churches and monasteries throughout France. The questionnaire
was sent to many prefects, but there was little response, and it
proved impossible to classify the architectural monuments of the
country on the basis of the inadequate reports that were sent in.
Independent efforts were, however, made to conserve and repair
207 a number of gothic churches: Combes restored the towers of
Bordeaux cathedral in 1810; Brongniart started work on Notre
Dame in 1811 and, in the following year, the government gave
208 a grant towards the restoration of Reims cathedral, under the
supervision of Dubut and Rondelet fils. The most important
restoration of the period was that of S. Denis. On 20th
209 February 1806, Napoleon had decreed that it should become the
consecrated burial place of the Emperors of France and had



granted enormous sums for the repair of the church. Legrand supervised the first essential repairs. Cellerier was later appointed to prepare the crypt and part of the upper church for the royal tombs, which were to be returned from Lenoir's museum; but not until 1811, when Fontaine was put in charge, did work begin in earnest. He initiated devastating changes; the floor of the nave and aisles was raised to the level of the ambulatory, the interior was altered in appearance by the removal of mouldings everywhere, and the masonry of the façade was recut. Fontaine was succeeded, in 1813, by Debret, who continued the work in this cavalier fashion until 1843 when he was dismissed for incompetence.

On less official levels scattered evidence of a stronger interest in gothic architecture appears in the same years. Millin, who had stopped his mediaeval studies after the publication of the 'Antiquités Nationales' (repeating his ideas on the history of gothic architecture almost word for word in 1806, in an article on 'Gothique' in the 'Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts') started a series of articles on various aspects of mediaeval culture in the 'Magazin Encyclopedique' in 1811. In the same year A.P.M. Gilbert published the first of his monographs 'Description historique de la basilique metropolitaine de Paris'. It was followed, one year later, by the 'Description historique de l'église cathédrale de Chartres.

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The importance of these symptoms has often been underestimated. It has been tempting to regard them as isolated phenomena that presaged the revival of interest in gothic art during the Restoration period. In fact, however, the development from 1810 to 1820 and after was continuous and uninterrupted. Doubtless, a number of Royalists indulged in the futile coquetry of resuscitating ancient history in connection with the kings of mediaeval France in order to prove that their old vigour had been preserved or recovered, but it was not in such recollections that the gothic movement found its stimulus and its strength. For Gothic romanticism and liberalism were recognized as a common cause after 1850. The authorities of the Restoration period showed little respect for gothic monuments; indeed, it was precisely their lack of interest and their ineffectual action against demolition contractors that prompted Victor Hugo to write the 'Bande Noire' in 1823. Fifteen years later

214 Montalembert wrote 'Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme' -

'ce qui est sur c'est qu'il n'y a pas un département en France où il ne se soit consommé, pendant les quinze années de la Restauration, plus d'irremédiables devastations que pendant toute la durée de la République et de l'Empire'. Furthermore, the personalities who had created the pattern of the gothic movement during the last years of the Napoleonic era were still in leading



positions during the period of the Restoration. Millin was
the most important publisher of articles on gothic architecture
and A.P.M. Gilbert the most prolific writer of guide-books to
gothic churches. Alexandre de Laborde, too, managed once again
to provoke interest in the national monuments; in 1818 he
persuaded the Académie des Inscriptions to send out a questionnaire
on the state of local monuments and to offer a medal for the best
report received each year. Memoires were soon coming in from
provincial correspondents, implying that the concern for gothic
monuments had become more widely diffused. However, the
important point to note about the gothic movement of the
Restoration epoch is not that it continued without a break from
Napoleon's time, but how it was elaborated.

During the early years of the nineteenth century the
collector of gothic antiquities was to a large extent the
curio-hunter, the scholar of gothic architecture, the amateur
and the treatise the guide-book. But in the 1820's gothic
archaeology began once more to be developed, the study of
mediaeval history was crystallized into a science, while
picturesque taste was intensified. Gothic archaeology
emerged in the north west of France and, in particular, in
Normandy, where English scholars had long been active. In 1787
Ducarel's 'Anglo-Norman Antiquities' was published in London.
And within a few years English antiquarians were exploring the



mediaeval buildings of Normandy. The most important of these early archaeologists was the Reverend G.D. Whittington. He worked for years on a study of the origin and development of the pointed arch, but before the results of his research could be published, he died. His 'Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France' was, however, revised by Lord Aberdeen and printed a few months later, in 1808. The book was at once successful and another edition came out in 1811. But these works, being written in English, created little immediate impression in France. Whittington's continued presence in Normandy had, however, awakened a certain interest
220 in the gothic style. In 1803, the Rouen 'Societe libre d'émulation' proposed as the subject of a paper: 'Determiner l'époque de la naissance du genre appelé gothique et de ses variétés jusqu'à quel point ce genre d'architecture a-t-il été combiné avec l'architecture, orientale arabe, apportée en Europe au temps des Croisades' -- and the Academie Celtique (later the Societe Royale des Antiquaires de France) founded in 1804, received several similar communications, sent from Normandy. The authoritative statement on the origin of gothic architecture came, however, from England. In 1813, Sir James Hall, in his 'Essay on the origins, history and principles of Gothic architecture', traced the gothic



prototypes to Normandy. Sidney Hawkins, who published his conclusions in the same year, likewise recognized the fundamental importance of Norman architecture. It is small wonder, therefore, that the first important French archaeologists were strongly influenced by English scholars. Auguste Leprevost (1787 - after
221 1845), who began his meticulous study of Norman churches in 1814 and wrote, in the years that followed, a number of *Mémoires*, worked at first with Anderson, a member of the London Society of Antiquarians, and was so great an admirer of Whittington that he tried to publish a translation of the 'Historical Survey of the
222 Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France. C.A. de Gerville (1769 - 1853), who started his researches on the churches of La Manche at the same period, acquired his knowledge of archaeology in England, where he fled during the Revolution.

Leprevost's and De Gerville's work excited the attention of other French scholars. Dufour, Chadruc de Crazannes and Daudin started to work at Moulin, in the Charente and the Sarthe, while
223 in Normandy itself in 1818, M. de Kergariou, Prefect of the Seine-Inferieure, founded a commission of departmental antiquities, to encourage local enthusiasts of gothic architecture to gather and record information. In Calvados the mediaeval monuments were systematically recorded from 1819 onwards by Lambert, Charles Thomine, Jolimont and Lechaudé d'Anisy, who in 1823 translated Ducarel's 'Anglo Norman Antiquities'. But English



influence was waning. Dawson Turner's 'Architectural
Antiquities of Normandy,' published in 1822 with illustrations
224 by Cotman, was based on the researches of Leprevost and was,
in places, little more than a translation of notes made earlier
by De Gerville. Britton's book on Norman architecture, with
illustrations by the elder Pugin, was likewise substantially
derived from French sources.

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Books published at this time were not yet entirely serious.
Alexandre de Laborde's magnificent 'Monuments de France, classés
chronologiquement et considérés sous le rapport des faits
historiques et de l'étude des Arts', printed in 1816 (a second
volume followed in 1836) appealed equally to scholars and
I H20 121 'gothick' fanciers. His comments on the gallo-roman and
mediaeval antiquities of France are sound; but his illustrations
merely pretty. It was for their sake no doubt that the book
was widely valued. Laborde's estimate of gothic architecture
225 was, however, effectively sensible - 'Quoique n'ayant plus
aucun rapport avec l'architecture grecque,' he writes,
'l'architecture gothique a des beautés qui lui sont propres.
Vouloir la juger d'après les règles qu'elle n'a pas connues,
c'est se mettre hors d'état de l'apprécier. C'est en la
comparant a elle même et aux progrès qu'elle a faits, qu'on
lui fixe une place et une place importante dans l'ensemble des
inventions des hommes et des productions du génie. Cette



architecture est complete dans toutes ses parties. On peut
même dire qu'elle est d'autant plus parfaite dans son génie,
qu'elle s'éloigne des formes antiques et régulières.'

A welter of picturesque books bears witness to the state of
gothic connoisseurship at this period. Oterwald published his
'nouveau voyage pittoresque de la France' in 1817. Constant
226 Bourgeois issued his folio 'Recueil de vues pittoresque de la
France' between the years 1818 and 1819; while Hyacinthe
227 Langlois, one of the most active and effective publicists of
mediaeval architecture, who had started his career illustrating
books for Lenoir, Willemin and Gilbert, worked on a number of
not unimportant monographs on the architecture of Normandy. In
1817, he brought out the first part of his 'Recueil de quelques
vues, sites et monumens de France et spécialement de la Normandie,'
but issued no further parts; for his interest in gothic
architecture became suddenly more serious. In 1821 he wrote
a 'Mémoire sur la Calligraphie des Manuscrits du Moyen Age' and
in 1823, two short reports: one on mediaeval stained glass and
another on the fire at Rouen cathedral. During the next few
years he published books on the tombs of Jumièges, the choir-
stalls of Rouen cathedral, the Abbey of St. Wandrille, and,
finally, in 1832, his famous 'Essai historique et descriptif
sur la peinture sur verre'.



Apart from Gilbert's studies of the cathedrals of Rouen and Reims and St. Ouen de Rouen, published first in 1816, 1817 and 1822 respectively, there was the Abbe de la Rue's 'Essai historique sur la ville de Caen et son arrondissement', printed in 1820, Joliment's 'Monuments de la Normandie', also of 1820, and M. de la Queriere's 'Description historique des maisons de Rouen', which appeared in Paris in 1821. In 1823 Thiollot wrote his 'Antiquites, monumens et vues pittoresques du Haut Poitou', and Chapuy and Joliment started their series of 'Cathedrals Francaises', copied, rather unsuccessfully, from Britton's 'Cathedral Antiquities'. In the same year, the first of the five volumes of Seroux d'Agincourt's 'Histoire de l'art par les monumens, depuis sa decadence au VI^{eme} siecle' came out.

I 122, 123 228 It was intended as a continuation to the 'heureux' Winckelmann's History of Ancient Art; but it offered no critical comments and remains little more than a compilation of data. Thousands of small plans, perspective views and features are illustrated; most of the hypotheses made in connection with gothic architecture are listed; but no new theory is proffered. The importance of this book in the nineteenth century gothic revival has been grossly over-estimated. Seroux d'Agincourt was largely concerned with the buildings of Italy, where he spent most of his life; while the matter and format of his book are essentially

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eighteenth century. It was, moreover, begun in 1780, when Seroux d'Agincourt was already fifty years old.

The important publication of 1823 was not the 'Historie de l'Art', but Sulpice Boisseree's 'Geschichte und Beschreibung des Doms von Köln', a brilliant and ostentatious piece of scholarship. It stirred scholars to reaction with the suggestion that the gothic style had arisen first in Western Germany, and it excited romantics

229 with its illustrations of the richness of Cologne cathedral. But the most characteristic and the most spectacular of the books on gothic architecture to appear in the early 1820's was the 'Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France', by Baron Taylor, Mûrier and de Cailloux. This series, started in 1820 and continued for more than fifty years, served to communicate to lovers of the picturesque, as never before, the mystery and the melancholy of mediæval remains. In the first volume, dealing

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230 with Normandy, they were illustrated, enlivened with monks, shepherds and shepherdesses and knights in armour - ruins were shown, half-hidden in mists of darkness. The illustrations were a revelation - a revelation made possible by the introduction of lithography. Discovered by Senefelder at the end of the eighteenth century, it was brought to France in 1814 by Charles Philibert, Comte de Lasteyrie. Encouraged by the Prefect of Calvados, M. de Montlivault, he developed the lithographic process in his



studio at Caen (where the draughtsman, Besnard, and the engineer, Pattu, became his apprentices) and in 1818 held an exhibition. 'L'Hotel d'Ecoville' and 'La Maison des gens d'armes' were probably the first examples of French lithographic work to be seen by the public. Constant Bourgeois adapted the process for the illustrations of his 'Recueil de vues pittoresque de la France', issued in 1818 and 1819, but Baron Taylor's great extravaganza, with illustrations by Pragonard and Villeneuve, and later Sabatier and Harding, Douzats, Viollet-le-Duc, Vernet, Visconti, Isabey and Bonington, disclosed the real, picturesque possibilities of the lithographic process. The fascination of gothic was felt by a whole society, as it had been before by individuals. The book was a triumph but, as for its text, though part of it was written by Leprevost, it was disparaged
231 by the scholars.

The hard-core of French archaeologists detached themselves from the picturesque world and the world of the poetic guide books in these years. The great occasion in French archaeological history was again 1823, when the 'Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie' was
232 founded. The founder members were Leprevost, De Gerville and Anceise de Caumont (1801 - 1873). Leprevost and De Gerville were already established scholars, de Caumont was a man of twenty-two with little experience. Yet when, in 1824, he read



233 his 'Essai sur l'architecture religieuse de Moyen Age,
particulièrement en Normandie', to the 'Society des Antiquaires'
he was at once recognized as a new authority on gothic
architecture. His analysis of gothic architecture and his
method of dating buildings, provided a basis for all future
studies. Joliment acknowledged its importance in his 'Monumens
234 du département de Calvados,' printed in 1825, and M.A. Delville
and C.H. Deshays followed the procedure suggested by de Caumont
when, a few years later, they wrote the histories of the abbeys
of St. Georges de Boscherville and Jumièges. Caumont's greatest
work is his 'Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales', published between
235 1830 and 1841, based on a course of lectures delivered at Caen
in 1830. 'J'ai voulu présenter à mes auditeurs', Caumont
wrote with characteristic modesty, 'un corps de doctrine propre
à les guider dans l'étude et la classification des antiquités
de différents âges' - but he did far more. He classified under
their separate headings the ecclesiastical, military and domestic
buildings of mediaeval France; he dated them with fair accuracy
and analysed their styles. He forged the science of French
archaeology. In 1834 he founded the 'Société Française
d'Archeologie', organizing congresses each year in different
parts of France and publishing in a magazine, the Bulletin
Monumental the papers read. The Bulletin was and has remained
a stern, authoritative journal. It showed that the romantic



ghost was exorcised from mediaeval archaeological studies. Later de Caumont published a 'Statistique monumentale de Calvados', but his most useful gift to scholars, that excellent handbook, the 'Abécédaire', did not appear until 1851.

236 The emergence of the great nineteenth century schools of French historical study is a parallel to the archaeological movement in these years. Already, in the second decade of the century, the earliest of these mediaeval historians had
237 written important works: Michaud had proved that the crusades were defensible not only as acts of faith, but as acts vital
238 to the development of European civilization; Fauriel had delivered a brilliant sermon on the culture of the Midi
239 destroyed in the Albigensian wars and Raynouard had started to record the language and the literature of the troubadours. Though these men excited interest in the Middle Ages, it was the great Romantic school of history of the following generation that aroused the deepest feelings for the glory and magnificence of France. Thierry, Barante and Michelet are the great names. They sought to reveal the spirit of the mediaeval past; a past which had been well-recorded by Benedictine scholars, but never yet perceptively nor imaginatively described. From
240 1817 onwards Augustin Thierry's 'Études sur l'histoire de France'



appeared in the 'Courrier Européen'; in 1820 he wrote his 'Lettres sur l'histoire de France' and in 1825 his 'Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands'. It had something of the spirit and verve of

241 Walter Scott's books, which were then so eagerly received in France, and was read in consequence by a large new audience. The sympathy that Thierry showed for the people, moreover, ensured

242 the success of the work. Barante, equally inspired by Scott, published his famous history of the Burgundian Dukes in 1824.

243 'I have tried', he is recorded to have said, 'to restore to history the interest that the historical novel has borrowed from it.' Today, however, the limitations of his methods are only

244 too evident. Michelet succeeded where Barante failed. With an entirely sympathetic imagination and a passionate love of the past he described a period in which religion and patriotism were fused, and in which France was great. Michelet's mediaeval studies were not, however, written until after 1830. His brilliant 'Introduction à l'histoire universelle' was published in 1831, his six excellent volumes on French mediaeval history followed. They aroused a passion for the Middle Ages and were widely read and highly praised - particularly in Catholic circles. But they do not represent Michelet's final judgement. In his later works he showed a profoundly altered attitude to the mediaeval past; his earlier image, he said, was an ideal that had little relation to reality. He became thenceforth the leader



of that anti-clerical coterie of historians who glorified the years of the Renaissance as a revolt against the Middle Ages and a preparation for the triumphs of 1789.

The Romantic school of mediaeval historians died with Michelet's defection; but a strong sympathy for the Middle Ages was sustained by those historians whose purpose it was to explain rather than to tell a story; to account for the structure of a society rather than the actions of individuals. Mignet wrote
245 his 'Eloge de Charles VII' in 1820 and his 'Essai sur les
246 Institutions de Saint Louis' in 1821; while Guizot, in his first series of lectures, delivered at the Sorbonne in 1812 and 1813, surveyed the struggles and alliances of Frenchmen up to the end of the tenth century. His fame as a historian rests, however, on the lectures that he gave between 1828 and 1830. Almost unsurpassed in his capacity to recognise the idea underlying a sequence of events and to isolate the vital factors governing historical transformations, he traced the emergence and the growth of the power of the middle classes during the Middle Ages. His success, in a France already antagonistic to the last of the Bourbon kings, was enormous.

The events of 1830 brought Guizot's career as a lecturer to an end; he was launched into the political arena. Between 1830 and 1840 he served three times as a minister, for eight



crucial months he was ambassador in London; from 1840 to the fall of Louis Philippe he was virtually master of France; and used his power to further the interests of historical study. Together with Thiers, Mignet, Barante, Faubert and others, he formed the 'Société de l'histoire de France'. But his greatest achievement was the inauguration, in 1830, of the organization that was to become the 'Commission des Monuments Historiques'. Before the history of this organization can be traced, however, other strands of the gothic movement must be recorded and, in particular, Victor Hugo's 'Notre Dame de Paris' discussed.

The Restoration government was not, as we have seen, highly sympathetic in its treatment of the mediaeval remains of France. Yet when, in 1824, the architect Durand died, his hoard of
247 mediaeval glass and enamel-ware was purchased for the Louvre; in addition Revoil's rich assortment of mediaeval and Renaissance furniture was bought, in 1828. Some slight interest was likewise shown in preserving the buildings of the Middle Ages. In 1819 repairs were carried out on the radial chapel of St. Germain des Pres - the repairs were, however, disastrous - and in 1825 Hure restored St. Julien le Pauvre, with little more skill. But in J.A. Alavoine the authorities found a more adroit, if no more learned, restorer. He had worked at St. Denis with Debret



and was, on the strength of that experience, appointed, in 1817,
248 to restore the cathedral of Sees. Delicate structural stonework
was beyond the capacity of most masons of the period. Alavoine
thus conceived the idea, in restoring the triforium, of using
cast-iron columns in place of stone shafts. His expedient was
certainly novel. When, in 1823, he was commissioned to rebuild
the fleche of the cathedral of Rouen - struck by lightning three
years before - he thought once again to use cast-iron - 'les
artistes du moyen age,' he wrote in his report to the Minister of
249 the Interior, 'auraient accordé la préférence à la fonte de fer sur
la pierre, si les moyens de l'exécuter avaient été aussi
perfectionnés de leur temps qu'ils le sont aujourd'hui.'
Quatremère de Quincy opposed the whole scheme. He determined,
moreover, to exclude Alavoine from the Institute if he proceeded
with it. But Alavoine was more determined. By 1826 his crocket-
bedecked, cast-iron spire crowned the cathedral of Rouen. Confirmed
in his success, he proposed a similar fleche for Sees cathedral.
But it was not built.

However misguided Alavoine's ideas may seem, his design
represents a sincere attempt to penetrate into the nature of gothic
architecture and to interpret it in nineteenth century terms. For,
until the hieroglyphics of the gothic style had been deciphered
by archaeologists and builders had learned to fashion gothic forms,



250 architects, however well-disposed, could do no more than indulge
in guesswork and experiment in their gothic restorations.

It is hardly necessary to trace the many manifestations of
the gothic taste that appeared in the world of art and literature
in the years of the Restoration and after. The works of Walter
251 Scott were widely read; imitated and emulated by a host of writers
long before Alexandre Dumas appeared on the scene. Audiences
shuddered before such works as 'Robert le Diable' or Nodier's
'Vampire', while the Salons filled with a medley of scenes,
part-Mediaeval part-Renaissance, so dismal and naive that in 1834
252 Theophile Gautier was prompted to write - 'Encore du moyen âge,
toujours du moyen âge! Qui ne délivrera du moyen âge, de ce
moyen âge qui n'est pas le moyen âge? Moyen âge de carton et de
terre cuite, qui n'a du moyen âge que le nom. Oh! Les barons de
fer, dans leur armure de fer, avec leur coeur de fer dans leur
poitrine de fer! Oh! les cathédrales avec leurs rosaces toujours
épanouies et leurs verrières en fleurs, avec leur dentelles de
granit, avec leurs trefles découpés à jour, leurs pignons taillés
en seie, avec leurs chants, avec leurs prêtres étincelants, avec
leur peuple à genoux, avec leur orgue qui bourdonne et leurs anges
planant et battant d'aile sous les voûtes. Comme ils m'ont gâté
mon moyen âge, mon moyen âge si fier et si coloré! Comme ils l'ont
fait disparaître sous une couche de grossier badigeon! Quelles



criardes enluminures! Ah! Barbouilleurs ignorants, qui croyez avoir fait de la couleur pour avoir plaqué rouge sur bleu, blanc sur noir et vert sur jaune, vous n'avez vu du moyen âge que l'écorce, vous n'avez pas diviné l'âme du moyen âge!'

The only work to emerge from this chaos which had an effect comparable to that of Chateaubriand's great book was Victor Hugo's 'Notre Dame de Paris,' of which the first edition appeared in February 1831. Towards the end of 1832 the more important, revised edition of the book was published, with three additional chapters and a preface which made explicit the purpose of its author - 'Inspirons', he wrote 's'il est possible à la nation l'amour de l'architecture nationale. C'est là, l'auteur le déclare, un des buts principaux de ce livre; c'est là un des buts principaux de sa vie.' He elevated the gothic cathedral to a heroic stature, allowing it to dominate his novel.

He viewed the art of the Middle Ages, he said in his preface, as a triumphant expression of social forces - 'ce n'était alors seulement une belle ville,' he said of fifteenth century Paris, 'c'était une ville homogène, un produit architectural et historique du moyen âge, un chronique du pierre'. And he devoted a whole chapter to the theme that as the printed book could be said to reflect the aspirations of nineteenth century man,



so the hopes, illusions and even the disappointments of mediaeval men were contained in their architecture. The printing-press, he said, had destroyed architecture. Even the buildings of de l'Orme derived their excellence from mediaeval sources. Thenceforth architecture had become progressively lifeless. Geometry had replaced artistic inspiration. The satisfaction of simple, purely practical needs had become the only possible, architectural goal.

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There is more than a hint in this exposition of the Saint Simonist doctrine which postulated that in progressing towards perfection man was subject to the influence of alternate 'époques organiques' and 'époques critiques', both necessary (till then, at any rate) for the advancement of civilization. Organic periods were characterized by firm social orders; all effort was concentrated towards a universally recognized and accepted goal - 'le but de l'action sociale est nettement défini.' During critical epochs, on the other hand - 'toute communion de pensée, toute action d'ensemble, toute co-ordination a cessé'. Society, it was held, 'ne présente plus qu'une agglomération d'individus isolés et luttant les uns contre les autres.' Modern civilization had known two organic epochs and two critical epochs: a period of Greek polytheism, which was succeeded by the scepticism of the classical or philosophical age; and the age of Christian belief, which was followed by the



Reformation and the Renaissance. Saint Simon and his disciples, as can be imagined, showed a strong and natural predilection for the organic epochs, and the Middle Ages in particular. But whereas the Saint Simonists held that a new, organic epoch was about to begin, Hugo was less optimistic. Contemporary architecture, he believed, was rotten. Individual geniuses might, however, emerge. As Dante had expressed himself in the thirteenth century, and as Shakespeare's plays had coincided with the building of the last great gothic cathedrals, so an architect of stature might triumph in the nineteenth century age of newsprint. Hugo was not entirely without hope. A new generation of students, he said, strongly opposed to the lifeless doctrine of the Academy, had arisen. But whatever the future might hold - 'l'architecture ne sera plus l'art social, l'art collectif, l'art dominant. Le grand poème, le grand édifice, le grand oeuvre de l'humanité ne se bâtera plus, il s'imprimera'. The immediate concern of all architects, he said, should be to appreciate, to revere, and, above all, to protect from destruction the monuments of the Middle Ages - 'en attendant les monuments nouveaux', he wrote, 'conservons les monuments anciens'.

Hugo's fulminations had an immediate effect. Adolphe Napoleon Didron (1806 - 1867), then a young civil servant, wrote to him enraptured and was received and advised to go on



en architectural tour of Normandy. During the following months
 262 he walked, his ruck-sack on his back, from one mediaeval building
 to another, noting the forms of the architecture and, especially,
 the sculpture and stained glass, thus initiating those archaeological
 studies which culminated in the 'Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne,
 grecque et latine', printed in 1845. Charles, Comte de
 263 Montalembert (1810 - 1870) was likewise inspired by Notre Dame
 264 de Paris. Reviewing the book in 1831, he wrote, 'M. Victor
 Hugo aura la gloire d'avoir donné le signal de la révolution
 qui doit infailliblement s'opérer dans l'architecture; ses
 admirables chapitres intitulés 'Notre Dame' et 'Paris, vu à
 vol d'oiseau' sont les premiers manifestes d'un goût nouveau,
 d'une seconde renaissance, à qui certes il faut souhaiter de
 meilleures destinées qu'à la première'.

Montalembert was, however, already familiar with Hugo's
 ideas. Enchanted by 'Hernani', he had contrived - with his
 265 usual social grace - to have himself introduced to Hugo. Their
 first meeting took place on 27th May 1830 - 'Il a une maison
 charmante;' Montalembert recorded in his diary, 'je n'ai pas vu
 sa femme qui m'intéresse tant.' He saw her on his second visit
 to No. 11 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs and was disappointed. But
 266 Hugo was magnificent. 'Il a été admirable', Montalembert
 recorded on 16th July 1830, 'et quant à moi, il m'a révélé une
 science nouvelle, il m'a ouvert une carrière qui n'était



inconnue. Il nous a donné pendant deux heures, les détails les plus instructifs sur l'histoire et la philosophie de l'architecture: elle était, selon lui, l'expression de la liberté et de l'activité intellectuelle avant l'invention de l'imprimerie; c'était la liberté de la presse du XI^e au XVI^e siècle. Depuis la presse elle a cessé d'être expressive et populaire, elle est toute matérielle. Il nous a cité des exemples et montré des gravures qui appuyaient merveilleusement sa théorie, surtout à St. Wandrille, à St. Jacques la Boucherie de Paris, construction d'opposition faite par Nicolas Flamel, et en général dans tous les édifices gothiques du XV^e siècle, époque qu'il a choisi pour y placer son roman Notre Dame de Paris. Il nous a fait parfaitement comprendre les divisions historiques de l'architecture moderne: 1^o époque romane, byzantine, lombarde ou saxonne, époque sacerdotale ou le plein cintre domine, presque sans ornement et qui dure depuis la fondation de l'Eglise jusqu'aux Croisades: 2^o époque dite gothique, époque de liberté et d'activité, règne de l'ogive qui se rétrécit et se charge d'ornements à mesure que l'époque de la Renaissance approche: 3^o enfin l'époque de la Renaissance, c'est à dire renaissance du plein cintre sous l'apparence de l'arc, de l'arc romain et du dôme; époque qui dure à peine un siècle et qui a été le dernier jour de l'architecture comme puissance et expression morale. °



The boyish enthusiasm that guided Montalembert in his
267 activities led him within a few weeks to Normandy, where he
explored the gothic buildings, delighting in the barge-boards
and the spires, the finials and the crockets of Rouen, but for
loftier contemplation imagining it a great centre of mediaeval
piety and goodness. After a visit to Ireland, he returned to
Paris to write for 'l'Avenir', the catholic review, newly founded
by Lamennais and Lacordaire. Neither of these men had any liking
268 for gothic architecture; but Montalembert managed to initiate
in that paper the policy - of which he was to become the most
consistent and effective French exponent - of regarding gothic
architecture as the catholic architecture par excellence. The
269 papal suppression of 'l'Avenir' in 1832 diminished none of his
fervour; rather it served to increase it. In Rome, whither
he travelled with Lamennais and Lacordaire, Montalembert met
Overbeck - 'un artiste dans toute l'extension du terme, un homme
de foi et de poésie'. In Florence he found an old school
270 friend, Francois Alexis Rio (1793 - 1874) whom he inspired with
a rapture for 'Notre Dame de Paris' and to whom he then
271 demonstrated the nature and the quality of beauty which he saw
to exist in the paintings of Giotto and the school of art,
272 unknown to the French public, of Fra Angelico. This
demonstration had for effect the 'De la poésie Chrétienne dans



son principe, dans sa matiere et dans ses formes', the first volume of which Rio published in 1836 - with little immediate success, for five months after publication no more than twelve copies had been sold. But in July 1837 Montalembert wrote a flattering review in the 'Université Catholique' and persuaded Delecluze to do the same - his review appeared in the 'Journal des Débats', on 11th July and 9th September 1838. In 1840 the 'Quarterly Review' devoted a long article to Rio's book and a few years later it earned Ruskin's respect, determining much of the second part of his 'Modern Painters'. Rio's second volume 'De la poésie chrétienne' was published in 1855.

From Florence, Rio and Montalembert travelled to Venice and thence to Munich where they met Cornelius, Overbeck's friend, and Sulpice Boisseree - 'Je vais chez M. Sulpice Boisseree,' Montalembert recorded in his diary on 13th August 1832, 'qui a commencé cette régénération (de l'art catholique) par le grand ouvrage sur la cathédrale de Cologne. Il me fait voir en détail, après une bonne discussion sur Victor Hugo et le Romantisme français.' Boisseree, however, considered 'Notre Dame de Paris' - 'une injure envers l'esprit humain'.

Back in Paris, Montalembert published his long article 'Contre le Vandalisme en France' in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes'; it was addressed to Victor Hugo. It was inspired



not by 'Notre Dame de Paris' alone, however, but by Hugo's article 'Guerre aux demolisseurs', which appeared likewise in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' on 1st March 1832, when Montalembert was yet in Italy - 'Vous ne voulez pas combattre seul', Montalembert said, 'je le sais, vous ne dédaignez aucun auxiliaire; vous ne demandez pas mieux, dans cette oeuvre grande et sainte, que de vous associer les plus obscurs, les plus maladroits travailleurs: vous ne demandez que de l'indignation contre les barbares, de l'amour pour le passé. Je me présente à vous avec ces deux conditions. Des voyages entrepris dans un but tout-à-fait étranger à l'art m'ont fait découvrir des attentats contre lui dont je frémis encore, et que je hâte de livrer à la publicité. En ce qui touche à l'art, je n'ai la prétention de rien savoir, je n'ai que celle de beaucoup aimer. J'ai pour l'architecture du moyen âge une passion ancienne et profonde: passion malheureuse, car, comme vous le savez mieux que personne, elle est féconde en souffrances et en mécomptes; passion toujours croissante, parce que plus on étudie cet art divin de nos aïeux, plus on y découvre de beautés à admirer, d'injures à déplorer et à venger; passion avant tout religieuse, parce que cet art est à mes yeux catholique avant tout, qu'il est la manifestation la plus imposante de l'Eglise dont je suis l'enfant, la création la plus brillante



de la foi que m'ont leguée mes pères'. Such was Montalembert's belief, and such it was to remain - a counterpart to that of Pugin. But it was the self-sure Protestant, Guizot, who first implemented the ideas for which Inigo and Montalembert fought in France.

- 277 On 21st October 1830, four months before the publication of 'Notre Dame de Paris', Guizot proposed to Louis Philippe that a record of the historic buildings of France be made in order to ensure their preservation. The proposal was not without precedent: Gaignières, as we have seen, had made a similar proposal to Louis XIV and, more recently, Alexandre de Laborde had tried to compile an inventory of French monuments. The importance of Guizot's recommendation is that it was acted upon. The post of 'Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques' was created and Ludovic Vitet, one of Guizot's most ardent disciples, appointed to serve as
- 278 inspector. Vitet (1802 - 1875) had little qualification apart from his training as an historian. He could claim to have written two historical romances on mediaeval themes - 'Les États de Blois' (1827) and 'La Mort de Henri III' (1829) - and he had travelled widely in France in search of picturesque remains. But when he
- 279 wrote his first report in 1831, he showed real interest in, and concern for, mediaeval buildings - 'constater l'existence et faire



la description critique de tous les édifices du royaume qui, soit par leur date, soit par le caractère de leur architecture, soit par les événements dont ils furent les témoins, méritent l'attention de l'archéologue, de l'artiste, de l'historien, tel est le premier but des fonctions qui me sont confiées; au second lieu, je dois veiller à la conservation de ces édifices en indiquant au Gouvernement et aux autorités locales les moyens soit de prévenir, soit d'arrêter leur dégradation.' He proposed, furthermore, that inspectors and observers, to serve under his authority, be nominated by the Prefects of the Departements. For the next two years, however, Vitet carried out his work virtually unaided. He travelled in the Departements, recording a surprising range of buildings, from Roman temples to unfinished nineteenth century structures. The first funds for restoration voted by the Government and entrusted to the Direction des Beaux Arts, were, on his recommendation, used to
280 restore the Roman theatre at Orange, to complete the Boulogne column, begun in 1804 by Labarre, and to repair the church of Bratsme. Then in 1833 Vitet resigned and was promoted to the position of Secretary General to the Ministry of Commerce.
281 He was succeeded by no less a person than Prosper Mérimée (1803 - 1870), author of 'Venus de Ille', 'Colomba' (1841), and 'Carmen. (1846).



He described himself as a 'matter-of-fact-man', and was known to his contemporaries as a prosaic and precise - if sometimes mischievous - person, an efficient civil servant. On 27th May 1834, Thiern appointed him 'Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques et Antiquités Nationales' - 'Elle convient fort à mes goûts', Méline told Sutton Sharpe, 'à ma paresse, à mes idées de voyage. Ainsi, tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes'. He asked Sharpe for the books of Warton, Milner and Grose, and wrote to Caumont for advice. Then, at the end of July 1834, he left on his first tour of inspection. For four months he travelled, interviewing archaeologists, antiquarians and all types of authorities in the Midi and Languedoc; the results of this activity appeared in his 'Notes d'un voyage dans le Midi de la France', printed in Brussels in 1835. The report is admirably brisk and impersonal, though interspersed with perceptive comments and pleasant anecdotes. In 1836 he wrote his 'Notes d'un voyage dans l'ouest de la France', an equally convincing memorandum which showed how well he had assimilated a knowledge of mediaeval archaeology. He was not at this time authorized to spend much money on restoration - little more, indeed, than Vitet - but he saw to it that the grant of 1835 was sensibly allocated and managed to perform the valuable task of ensuring the safety of several mediaeval buildings. He did



not work alone. In July 1834 Guizot formed a small commission to supervise the publication of historical documents; in January 1835 he created another commission, likewise charged to undertake -

296 'les recherches et les publications des monuments inédits de la littérature, de la philosophie, des sciences et des arts'. These commissions and their sub-committees tended to overlap; they encroached, moreover, on Marinée's studies. He was, however, together with Auguste Leprevost, Charles Lenormant, Victor Hugo, Sainte Beuve, Albert Lenoir (son of Alexandre Lenoir) Didron and Vitet, a member of the last-named commission. Guizot himself

287 was president, Victor Cousin vice-president - 'M. Guizot, a la première séance', Marinée wrote to Regnier on 25th June 1835 'nous dit que nous devions faire un catalogue de tous les monuments de France actuellement existants. Je me récriai: Il me dit "Figurez vous qu ni le temps ni l'argent ne vous manqueront". Je fus réduit au silence et mon voisin, homme au pis, m'écrivit sur un morceau de papier: Le temps? il ne sera plus ministre dans trois mois. L'argent? il n'a plus un sou des 120.000 francs votés pour 1835. En attendant, nous nous réunissons fréquemment pour blaguer.'

But they were not inactive. They compiled long lists of unpublished documents and sent numerous circulars and instructions to antiquarians and archaeological societies in the Départements.



They listened, moreover, to Merimee's reports. But though they worked hard and well and were all enthusiastic in their praise
288 of gothic architecture, they were not united - 'Vous dire quels bavards nous faisons,' wrote Merimee to a friend, 'est impossible. Le Victor Hugo nous fait de la poesie surtout, et M. Cousin des discours de deux heures auxquels je ne comprends rien.' With set-backs and struggles, however, they continued to work together for two years more; then, on 29th September 1837, M. de
289 Montalivet, minister of the Interior, instituted the 'Commission des Monuments Historiques'. Its function was clearly defined; it was to prepare a classified list of French historical monuments and to undertake the preservation and restoration of the most important, tempting the co-operation of the departmental prefects in this work. The commission was composed of eight members. Presided over by Vatout, director of the Conseil des Bâtimens Civils, it included Ludovic Vitet, Auguste Leprevost, le Comte de Montesquiou, Baron Taylor, the architects Caristie and Duban, and Prosper Merimee, who, while retaining his title of Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques, was to act as secretary.

Guizot's haphazardly organized historical committees were likewise placed on a firmer basis. M. Salvandy, Minister of Education, formed the 'Comité des Arts et Monuments' on 18th
290 December 1837. It was divided at first into five sections, each with its clearly defined duties, but its general purpose was



'de publier tous les documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts chez les Français; de faire connaître tous les monuments d'art en France, dans tous les genres; de faire dessiner et graver pour les conserver à l'avenir les œuvres remarquables d'architecture, de peinture, de sculpture, etc; de donner des instructions sur la conservation des ruines, statues, tours, chapelles, cathédrales; de faire des recherches sur l'histoire de la musique à toutes les époques du moyen âge; enfin de préparer les matériaux pour une histoire complète de l'art en France'.

That, administratively speaking, sets the stage for Viollet-le-Duc's architectural career.



CHAPTER II: NOTES.

1. Henri Jacoubet 'Le Comte de Tressan et les Origines du Genre Troubadour'. Paris 1923. cf. Chaps. I, II and III.
2. Jacoubet op. cit. pp. 6 - 9.
3. 'l'Histoire du Seigneur de Bayart, le chevalier sans paour et sans raprouche' was printed in Paris in 1527, but there was, apparently, an earlier edition.
4. Al. Cioranescu 'L'Arioste en France des origines à la fin du XVIII^e siècle', Paris 1938. 2 vols.
J. Cottaz 'L'Influence des theories du Tasse sur l'épopée en France', Paris 1942.
J. Cottaz 'Le Tasse et la conception épique', Paris 1942.
5. Montaigne. Essais. l. p. 25.
6. Walter Friedlander 'The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin. Catalogue Raisonné', Vol. II, London 1949, p. 21 ff. - similar paintings, of course, exist by Domenichino and a host of Seicento painters.
7. 1st edition 1560, but it was revised and enlarged several times. cf. also Cl. Fr. Menestrier 'Le Véritable Art du Blazon', Lyon 1658. - P. Allut 'Recherches sur la vie et le oeuvre du Pere Menestrier' Lyon 1858.
8. Nathan Edelman 'Attitudes of seventeenth century France towards the Middle Ages', New York, 1946, cf. Chap. II.
Al. Bonnardot 'Etudes sur Gilles Corrozet et sur deux anciens ouvrages relatifs à l'histoire de la ville de Paris', Paris, 1848.
J.P. Nicéron 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres'. Paris, 1733. Vol. XXIV, p. 149 ff.
9. This edition was reprinted in 1576, 1577 and 1581 - the best edition of the guide is that brought out in 1561 by Corrozet himself.
10. op. cit. 1550 edition, p. 68; 1576 edition, p. 76.
11. This book was re-edited in 1556 and published in Lyon as 'Des Singularités des Gaules'. In 1558 it was translated into Italian as 'La historia di tutte le citta, ville, fiumi, fonti et altre cose notabili di Francia'.



12. cf. Lenglet du Fresnoy 'Méthode pour étudier l'histoire', Paris, 1713 - but especially 1772 edition by Drouet - 'avec un catalogue des principaux historiens'. cf. also Jacques Lelong 'Bibliothèque historique de la France' edited by Feveret de Fontenette and published in Paris in 1768. 5 vols.
These books are invaluable for any study of French guide-book history.
13. The edition published in 1612 by Dubreul, is usually considered the best and most useful version.
14. Cl. Malingre 'Les Antiquités de la ville de Paris', Paris 1640.
15. Le Maire 'Paris ancien et nouveau', Paris 1685.
Another book which was closely modelled on Dubreul's guide was Borel's 'Antiquités de Paris', printed in 1645.
16. op. cit. 1639 edition, p.8.
17. op. cit. 1608 edition, p. 245; 1612 edition, p.137
1639 edition, p.104.
18. cf. Fontenette op. cit. and Drouet op. cit.
19. Jean Cheny 'Recueil des antiquitez et privileges de la ville de Bourges', 1621.
Jean de Chabanel 'De l'antiquité de l'église Notre Dame, dite la Daurade à Tolose, et autres antiquitez de la ville'. Toulouse 1621.
Adrien de Morliere 'Antiquitez et choses plus remarquables de la ville d'Amiens', Amiens 1621.
cf. also Tassin 'Plans et profils de toutes les principales villes et lieux considerables de France'. 2 vols. Paris 1631, 1638, 1667.
Claude Chastillon 'Topographie françoise, un représentation de plusieurs villes, bourgs, châteaux, maisons de plaisance, ruines et vestiges d'antiquités de royaume de France', in fol. Paris 1641, 1647.
'Antiquités de la ville d'Amiens'. Amiens, 1642.
Pere Ignatius de Jésus Maria, 'Histoire ecclesiastique de la ville d'Abbeville', Abbeville 1646.

Jacques Comboust 'Description des antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Rouen', 1655.



20. The term 'moyen âge' was first used in our present sense in France in 1596. F. Pasquier writes of l'Eglise sur son moyen aage', quoted Edelman, op. cit. p.5.
21. cf. also Duchesne's 'Bibliothèque du auteurs qui ont écrit l'histoire et la topographie de la France', Paris 1618 in 4^o, 1627 in 4^o (greatly revised).
22. cf. H. Hardouin 'Essai sur la vie et sur les ouvrages de Ducange', Amiens 1849.
23. Ducange wrote a 'Histoire de l'état de la ville d'Amiens et de ses comtes', but it was not published until 1840.
24. 'Melanges et documents publiés à l'occasion du deuxième centenaire de la mort de Mabillon', Paris 1907; in it is Henri Stein's 'Bibliographie chronologique des ouvrages relatifs à Mabillon 1707 - 1907.'
 Dom J.B. Monnoyer 'Un Grand Moine: Dom Jean Mabillon' in Le Correspondant, December 1932.
 Joseph Urban Bergkamp 'Dom Jean Mabillon and the Historical school of Saint Maur.
 Léon Deries 'Une moine et savant, Dom Jean Mabillon, religieux Bénédictin de la Congregation de Saint Maur.'
 cf. Emmanuel de Broglie 'Mabillon et la Société de l'abbaye de St. Germain des Pres a la fin du dix septieme siècle, 1664 - 1707' 2 vols., Paris 1898.
 Emile Chavin de Malan 'Histoire de Dom Mabillon et de la Congregation de St. Maur'. Paris 1843.
25. cf. Emmanuel de Broglie, op.cit.
 Emile Chavin de Malan, op.cit.
 Henri Jadart 'Dom Jean Mabillon, 1632 - 1707' Reims, 1878.
 Dom Cuthbert Butler, 'Mabillon' in the 'Downside Review', 1893.
26. Pierre Cassendi: 'Viri Illustres Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresce Vita', 1651.
 Léopold Delisle 'Un Grand Amateur français du dix-septieme siècle, Fabri de Peiresc', Annales du Midi I.
 H. Omont 'Les Manuscrits et les livres annotés de Fabri de Peiresc' Annales du Midi I.
 C.T.Hagberg-Wright 'Nicholas Fabri de Peiresc' London 1926.
 Raymond Lebeque 'Les Correspondants de Peiresc dans les anciens Pays Bas', Brussels, 1943.
 George Cohen Salvador 'Peiresc, un grand humaniste', Paris 1951.



27. R. Lebeque op.cit. p.46.
28. G. C. Salvador, op.cit. p.250.
29. cf. R. Pintard 'Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle', Paris 1943.
Isaac Uri 'Un cercle savant au XVII^e siècle, François Guyet (1575 - 1655) d'après des documents inédits'.
Harcourt Brown 'Scientific societies in seventeenth century France, 1620 - 1680'.
Edmond Bonnaffe 'Les collectionneurs de l'ancienne France'.
Borel 'Catalogue des choses rares qui sont dans le cabinet de Maître Pierre Borel, medecin de Castres, au haut Languedoc', printed in his 'Les Antiquitez, raretez, plantes mineraux, et autres choses considerables de la ville et comté de Castres d'Abigeois', 1649.
Pierre Ronzy 'Un humaniste Italianisant: Papire Masson'.
J.G. Espiner Scott, 'Claude Fauchet, sa vie, son oeuvre'.
30. These drawings, by Daniel Rabel, are now in the Bibliotheque Nationale.
31. These portraits were used in Jacques de Bie's 'Vrais portraits des rois de France', Paris 1634; a revised edition followed two years later.
32. cf. Erwin Panofsky 'Galileo as a critic of the Arts', The Hague, 1954, p.18.
33. There seems to be no general study of primitivism in seventeenth century France, though G. Boas's excellent study 'The Happy Beast in French thought of the seventeenth century' Baltimore 1933, may be read with profit.
34. Noel Mars' 'Histoire de royale monastere de St. Lomer de Blois ...recueillie fidellement des vieilles chartres du même monastere', edited by A. Dupre. Blois, 1869.
Martin John Hynes 'Histoire generale de l'abbaye de Mont St. Michel publie par E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire' Rouen 1872.
ou Edmond Martene cf. M. Peigné-Delacourt 'Dom Michel Germain', Paris 1882. introduction.
35. M. Peigné-Delacourt 'Dom Michel Germain. Benedictine de la Congregation de St. Maur 1645 - 94. Le Monasticon Gallicum'. Paris 1882.



36. op.cit. pl.18. cf. also Hauteceur, op.cit. II, 880 and Alfred Richard 'Saint Maixent (Deux Sèvres) in 'Paysages et Monuments du Poitou. Paris 1892.
37. Lelong. op.cit. I, p.333.
38. Sablon. op.cit. 1671 edition, p.23.
39. Félibien. op.cit. p.144
40. op. cit. p. 162.
41. op. cit. p. 189.
42. op. cit. p. 199.
43. op. cit. p. 209.
44. Indeed, all the buildings of mediaeval France mentioned by Félibien had been the subject of individual monographs - Strasbourg cathedral alone had not been described at length in French, but there existed several German guides, cf. Fontenette, op. cit. III, 33715 ff.
45. op. cit. preface.
46. Molière (1622 - 73) in an often quoted essay of praise for Mignard's paintings in the dome of the Val de Grace writes -
 'Tout s'y voyant orné d'un vaste fonds d'esprit
 Assaisonné de sel de nos graces antiques,
 Et non du fade goût des ornemens gothiques,
 Ces monstres odieux des siècles ignorants,
 Que de la barbarie ont produit les torrents,
 Quand leur cours inondant presque toute la terre
 Fit à la politesse une mortelle guerre,
 Et, de la grande Rome abattant les ramparts,
 Vint, avec son empire, étouffer les beaux arts.'
 quoted Abbe J. Corblet 'L'Architecture du Moyen Age jugée par les écrivains des deux derniers siècles', Paris 1859, p.13.

 Jacques Bossuet (1627 - 1704) referred to a badly written piece of writing as 'barbare comme une église gothique',
 quoted Corblet, op. cit. p.13.



Francois Fenelon, (1651 - 1715), the author of *Télémaque* wrote in his 'Lettre sur l'Eloquence', Chap. X, p.10:

'Un édifice grec n'a aucun ornement qui ne serve qu'à orner l'ouvrage. Les pièces nécessaires pour le soutenir ou pour le mettre à couvert, comme les colonnes et la corniche, se tournent seulement en grâces pour leur proportions. Tout est simple, tout est mesure, tout est borné à l'usage. On ne voit ni hardiesse, ni caprice qui impose aux yeux. Les proportions sont si justes, que rien ne paraît fort grand, quoique tout le soit. Tout est borné à contenter la vraie raison. Au contraire l'architecture gothique élève sur des piliers, très minces, un voute immense qui monte aux nues. On croit que tout va tomber, mais tout dur pendant bien des siècles. Tout est plein de fenêtres, de roses et de pointes. La pierre semble découpée comme de carton. Tout est à jour, tout est en l'air. N'est il pas naturel que les premiers architectes gothiques se soient flattés d'avoir dépassé par leur vain raffinement la simplicité grecque? Changez seulement les noms; mettez les poètes et les orateurs à la place des architectes. Lucain devait naturellement croire qu'il était plus grand que Virgile; Sénèque le tragique pouvait s'imaginer qu'il briller plus que Sophocle'. Corblet, op.cit. p.12.

In his 'Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française' Fenelon said 'On a reconnu que les beautés du discours ressemblaient à celles de l'architecture. Les ouvrages les plus hardis et les plus façonnés du gothique ne sont pas les meilleurs. Il ne faut admettre dans un édifice aucune partie destinée au seul ornement; mais visant toujours aux belles proportions on doit tourner en ornement toutes les parties nécessaires à soutenir une édifice'.

Corblet, op. cit. p.12.

Jean Francois Felibien's father, Andre Felibien (1619 - 95), was equally opposed to gothic architecture in his 'Description de l'Abbaye de la Trappe', published in Paris in 1671, he wrote - 'Elle est bâtie d'une manière gothique, et fort particulière, car le bout du costé du choeur



semble représenter la poupe d'un vaisseau, ce qu'il ne faut pas pédire pour quelque noble et subtile invention de l'architecte, puisque tout l'ouvrage en est grossier et n'est contre les règles de l'art'. p. 42.

47. Another to appreciate the gothic style, and one even belonging to an older generation, was the Abbé Michel de Marolles (1600 - 81). In his 'Considérations en Faveur de la langue Française', Paris 1677, he wrote, p.16, 'si quelqu'un par exemple fait estate de la belle architecture moderne, il voudra rejeter tout ce qui dépend de cette autre, en certains édifices si merveilleses, que par mépris on appelle gotique, comme si tout ce qui est venu des Gals était absolument barbare. Il ne faut pas certainement aller si viste: et il est juste mesme de reconnaître de bonne foy qu'il y a des choses admirables en ce genre là, et qui le sont tellement, que je ne doute point que sans dégénérer si fort, comme on se l'imagine, l'on n'y revienne insensiblement, ainsi que d'excellents architectes Italiens et François nous en ont donné des preuves depuis peu en la structure de quelques temples'.
48. Felibien, op. cit. p. 174.
49. Felibien, op. cit. p. 172 - 173.
50. Felibien, op. cit. p. 173.
51. Felibien, op. cit. p. 173.
52. Felibien, op. cit. p. 185.
53. Felibien, op. cit. p. 173.
54. Felibien, op. cit. p. 174.
55. cf. Richard Bernheimer 'Gothic survival and revival in Bologna', Art Bulletin, December 1954, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, p. 271 n. 27, and p. 272, n. 31 - 33.
E.S. de Beer 'Gothic, Origin and Diffusion of the Term. The Idea of Style in Architecture', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes', XI, 1948, p.151 claims that the idea of gothic rusticity was first enounced in 1635 by Vincenzo Carducho, in his 'Dialogos de la Pintura', though the idea, clearly, is



mediaeval. The vaults above the staircase in the twelfth century Hotel d'Artois in Paris, for instance, have ribs designed to represent the branches of trees, the infilling panels are decorated with carved oak leaves.

cf. 'Statistique Monumentale du Département du Pas-de-Calais', Vol. II. bks. 3 and 4, Part I 'Hotel d'Artois à Paris' by A. le Comte d'Horicourt, p.5, and an accompanying illustration.

cf. also A. de Guillierny 'Histoire Archeologique des Monuments de Paris', 2nd edition, 1856.

56. op. cit. 1685 edition, p. 232.

57. op. cit. 1697 edition, p. 335.

58. cf. Al. Bonnardot 'Gilles Corrozet et Germain Brice. Étude bibliographique sur ces deux historiens de Paris', Paris 1880.

59. The book was published in 1685, 1687, 1697, 1700, 1706, 1713, 1717, 1725, 1777, and 1752. In 1687 it was translated into English, in 1688 the second English edition was published.

60. cf. Jacobet, op. cit. p. 53 ff.
Romain Rolland 'Les Origines du théâtre lyrique moderne', Paris 1931.
Truinet et Roquet 'Les Origines de l'Opéra français'.
Lionel de la Laurencie 'Les Createurs de l'Opéra français'.
Etienne Gros 'Philippe Quinault'.
Tipping 'Jean Regnaud de Segrais'.
Georges Cucul 'Le Moyen Age dans les Operas comiques du XVIII^e siècle', Revue du Dix-Huitieme siècle, 1914, pp. 56 - 71.
Max. Aghion 'Le Théâtre a Paris au XVIII^e siècle', Paris 1939.

61. quoted in Jacobet, op. cit. p. 54.

62. cf. Charles de Grandmaison, 'Gaignières. Ses correspondants et ses collections de portraits', Mort 1892.
Henri Bouchet 'Inventaire des Dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux département des estampes et des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale', 2 vols. Paris 1891.
E. Viollet-le-Duc 'Liste des volumes et dessins qui composent la collection Gaignières conservée a la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, Oxford,' Bulletin des Comités Historiques, Paris 1851.



62 (continued)

cf. also E. de Broglie, op. cit. II, p.69, 70.

63. Brice, op. cit. 1713 edition, III, p.116.

64. Henri Bouchot, op. cit. gives a list of these journeys -
p. XVIII:

1695	Vendôme, Anjou, Maine.
1696	Normandie, Beaune
1697	Paris
1699	Orléannais, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou (for 7 months).
1700	Bourgogne, Normandie
1702	Normandie
1704	Brie, Ile de France
1705	Berry, Anjou
1706	Normandie
1707	Bretagne
1708	Paris, Ile de France
1709	Paris, Ile de France
1710	Paris, Ile de France
1711	Brie
1712	Champagne
1713	Gâtinais.

65. Several of the drawings that Louis Boudan did for Gaignieres are reproduced in Marcel Aubert's 'Architecture Cistercienne en France', 2nd edit. Paris 1947, 69, 84, 255, 364, 369 etc.

66. cf. Bouchot, op. cit.
Viollet-le-Duc, op. cit.

67. Grandmaison, op. cit. p. 63.

68. I have been unable to trace Tournemine's statement - it is not contained in any article published under his name in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux' - though it might possibly be in the 'Dictionnaire de Trévoux' - my reference comes from Cardemoy 'Mémoires de Trévoux', July 1710, p. 1258, and 'Traité', Paris 1714, under 'Ordre Gothique'.
In England the 'Moorish' theory of Gothic origins was suggested a few years earlier by John Evelyn in his 'Account of Architects and Architecture', published in 1697, cf. A.O. Lovejoy 'Essays in the History of Ideas - the First Gothic Revival', p. 137, 138. Sir Christopher Wren first designated Gothic as the 'Saracen style' in 1713.



69. J. F. Felibien, op. cit. preface.
70. cf. Lelong & Fontenette, op. cit.
Longlet du Fresnoy & Drouet, op. cit.
V. Chevalier 'References des sources historiques du
Moyen Age.
Topo. bibliographie II. 1903. 2683 - 2686.
71. There were other editions of Saugrain's guide in 1719,
1723, 1733, 1742, 1771, 1778 and 1833.
72. Saugrain, op. cit. p. 8 re Notre Dame - 'Son architecture,
batie l'an 1150, quoique gothique, a quelquechose de si
singulier et de si delicat, qu'elle a toujours passe pour
la plus belle eglise du Royaume'. Illustrated.
p. 26, re Ste. Chapelle - 'c'est un ouvrage des plus hardis
et des plus admirables de l'Europe. Il semble n'etre fonde
que sur de foibles colonnes n'etait soutenu d'aucuns piliers
dans l'oeuvre, quoi qu'il y ait deux eglises l'une sur
l'autre; ce que en fait la beaute et la delicatesses. Le
dedans n'est pas moins admirable. Les vitres peintes de
toutes couleurs sont d'une excellente beaute ... etc.'
p. 49, re St. Germain l'Auxerrois - 'Quoique gothique son
architecture ne laisse pas que d'etre tres beau et tres
grand etc.' Illustrated.
p. 280, re St. Germain des Pres - 'Quoique son batiment soit
gothique et son interieur vaste et ^{nud} elle est cependant
digne de votre curiosite par beaucoup d'endroits ...etc.'
p. 394, re St. Denis - 'la beaute de l'architecture, quoique
gothique, la delicatesses et la legerete de sa structure sont
aussi surprenons qu'admirables ... etc.'
73. Further editions followed in 1771 and 1778.
74. op. cit. 1720 edition, p. 342. cf. also p. 427 - 'l'on dit
en France que pour faire une eglise parfaite, il faudrait
le choeur d'Angers, la nef d'Amiens, le portail de Reims,
les clochers de Chartres et les tours de Paris.'
75. Etienne Gabriel Brice (1697 - 1755) a member of the
congregation of St. Maur, he worked at St. Germain des Pres
on 'Gallia Christiana'.
76. cf. Broglie, op. cit. I, 87.
77. Sumner McKnight Crosby 'The Abbey of S. Denis, 475 - 1122', I.
New Haven, 1942, p. 18 ff.



78. cf. Broglie, op. cit.
79. D. Michel Felibien, op. cit. I, p. 277 - re Ste. Chapelle -
 'Le nouvel édifice construit par St. Louis est double et
 contient deux églises l'une sur l'autre, baties avec une
 légèreté qui a peu d'exemples dans le goust qu'on appelle
 gothique....'
 p. 299 - 'Le roy St. Louis se servit pour bastir la Ste.
 Chapelle de Pierre de Montreau ou de Montreuil, fameux
 architecte de son tems, dont on a encore d'autres ouvrages
 recommandables par la délicatesse et la solidité, tels que
 sont le refectoire et l'abbaye de S. Germain, et la grande
 chapelle de la Vierge dans la mesme abbaye, qui n'est pas
 beaucoup inferieure en estendue et en beauté à la Ste.
 Chapelle; mais celle ci surpasse l'autre par l'élevation
 de sa voûte et la structure de ses vitraux'.
 cf. J.F. Felibien 'Recueil', op. cit. p. 209. cf. also
 Corrozet, op. cit. 1550 edition, p. 66; 1576 edition, p. 76
 and Dubreul op. cit. 1608 edition, p. 245, 1612 edition,
 p. 137.
80. Emmanuel de Broglie 'La Société de l'abbaye de St. Germain
 des Prés au Dix-Huitième siècle; Bernard de Montfaucon et
 les Bernardins 1715 - 1750', 2 vols. Paris 1891.
81. E. de Broglie, op. cit. 'Montfaucon', I, 13.
82. quoted Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, I, p. 195, also p. 135.
83. 'The Travels of the Learned father Montfaucon from Paris
 thro' Italy', London, 1712;
84. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, p. 190.
85. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, p. 192.
86. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, 194.
87. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, 196.
88. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, 196.
89. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, 186.
90. Among the subscribers were the Comte de Toulouse,
 Maréchal d'Estrées, Duc de Bouillon, Duc de la Force,
 Duc de Villars, Duc de St. Simon, Duc de Chartres,
 John Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bentley and a
 number of Oxford Colleges.



91. cf. Henri Bouchot, op. cit. iii, nearly all the plates in Montfaucon's 'Monuments de la Monarchie Francaise' were taken from Boudan's drawings - in his preface, Montfaucon thanked Gaignieres - 'Il m'a fraié le chemin en ramassant et faisant dessiner tout ce qu'il a pu trouver de monuments dans Paris, autour de Paris et dans les provinces'. p. vi.
92. Montfaucon, op. cit. I, 1729 preface.
After the publication of this volume, Gérard Mellier, mayor of Nantes, wrote to Montfaucon - 'On a tant parlé des Grecs et des Romains, il est bien raisonnable de donner quelque attention à ce qui nous touche de plus près, sans crainte de se dégrader du caractère de la vénérable antiquité', quoted Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, II, 185.
93. quoted. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon II, 236 - Bib.Nat. fonds Latin, 11915 fo. 19. Montfaucon pièces diverses.
94. cf. Nouvelle Biographie Generale edited by Hoefer XXIX, Paris 1859.
Lebeau 'Eloge de M. l'Abbé Lebeuf' in the 'Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres' XXIX. Paris 1764, p. 372 ff.
Papillon 'Bibliothèque des Auteurs de Bourgogne' and Lelong op. cit.
Hippolyte Cocheris 'Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris par l'Abbé Lebeuf', Paris, I. 1863, II, 1864. cf. esp. I, 11-73.
M. Quantin 'Lettres de l'Abbé Lebeuf' Auxerre I, 1866, II, 1867.
Ernest Petit 'Correspondance de l'Abbé Lebeuf et du President Bouhier', Auxerre and Paris, 1885.
Ernest Petit 'Voyage de l'Abbé Lebeuf à Clairvaux en 1730', Auxerre 1887.
Louis Gillet 'L'Abbaye de Chaalis. Trois Lettres du Mercure de France 1736 - 40', Paris, 1923.
95. cf. Lelong, op. cit. Papillon, op. cit. Cocheris, op. cit.
96. Lebeuf, op. cit. p. 52, note 6.
on p. 74 Lebeuf lists 'les plus savans antiquaires du royaume' - Dom Bernard de Montfaucon; Dom Jean Baillivet, prieur de Saint Germain d'Auxerre; M. Boudelot; M. l'Abbé d'Agnesseau; R. P. Chamillart aine, Jesuit.



97. E. Petit, op. cit.
98. Petit, op. cit. 36.
99. Petit, op. cit. 37.
100. Petit, op. cit. 45.
101. Petit, op. cit. 54.
102. Lebeuf, op. cit. cf. p. 228 - 229.
103. Lebeau, op. cit. p. 377.
104. Louis Gillet, op. cit. Letter I, written 15th July 1736.
105. Louis Gillet, op. cit. Letter II, written 1st Sept. 1736.
He praises Caignières here.
cf. on De Cotte's bldgs. at St. Denis, McKnight Crosby,
op. cit. p. 6.
106. cf. 'The Complete works of Sir John Vanbrugh', 1928, IV,
p. 29. Letter to the Duchess of Marlborough written in
June 1709.
107. cf. Broglie, op. cit. 'Montfaucon'.
cf. Alfred Gauthier 'Journal qui fait suite au Félibien'.
Bib. Nat. Mes. Fr. 20, 851 - 20, 852.
108. Broglie, op. cit. Montfaucon, I.1.
109. This book was a translation from the German; first printed
in French in 1733, it was often reprinted. There was an
edition in 1780 and another in 1786, which claims to be the
fifth edition. It was prepared by Francois Miller.
110. Bohm, op. cit. 1733 edition, p. 16.
other guide books of the period that are perhaps worth
mentioning are: Moleón (Lebrun Desmaret) 'Voyages liturgique
de France', Paris 1718.
Baugier 'Mémoires historiques, de la province de Champagne',
Paris, 1721.
Everard Kints 'Délices du pays de Liège', 1738, 5 vol. in fol.
Toussaint Duplessis 'Description historique et géographique
de la Haute Normandie', Paris 1740.



111. cf. Louis Reynaud 'Le Romantisme: les origins Anglo-Germaniques', Paris, 1926.
112. Charlton Collins 'Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau in England', London, 1908.
Reynaud, op. cit. 11.
113. Montesquieu 'Essai sur le goût', under the heading 'Des plaisirs de la variété'.
114. Rousseau. 'Lettres sur la musique française'. Oeuvres Complètes, 1792. XIX, p. 382 - 'à l'égard des contre fugues, doubles fugues, fugues renversées, basses contraintes et autres sottises difficiles que l'oreille ne peut souffrir et que la raison ne peut justifier, ce sont évidemment des restes de barbarie et de mauvais goût, qui ne subsistent, comme les portails de nos églises gothiques, que pour la honte de ceux qui ont eu la patience de les faire'.
Here one should perhaps mention also the Abbé Prévost, who spent six years in the abbey of St. Germain des Prés (cf. Pour et contre, IV, p. 39 ff.) before travelling to England. He wrote highly of England in his magazine (Pour et Contre' between 1733 and 1740, and imitated the romantic English hero in his 'Cleveland' (1732 - 39), but wrote in the 'Manuel Lexique des mots français', Paris 1770, p. 556 - 'On donne le nom gothique à quantité d'ouvrages du moyen temps, surtout d'architectures qui paraissent faits sans règle et où l'on ne reconnaît pas les belles proportions antiques'.
cf. also 'Dictionnaire Universel, François et Latin. 'Dictionnaire de Trevoux', Vol. IV. Paris 1771 under 'Gothique' - 'l'Architecture Gothique, c'est celle qui est éloignée des proportions antiques, sans correction de profils, ni de bon goût dans ses ornements chimériques. Elle a beaucoup de solidité et de merveilleux à cause de l'artifice de son travail. Les Goths l'ont apportée du Nord, etc.
P. André 'Essai sur le beau', Paris 1770 'Discours sur le modus', p. 210.
President de Brosses 'Lettres familières', 1739 - 1740.
Villaret 'Histoire de France', Paris 1783, p. 362.
115. cf. Reynaud, op. cit.



116. Reynaud, *op. cit.* 136 note. Jacoubet, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
cf. also note 57.
117. Bauchot and L. Moland 'Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire'. XXX.
Mélanges IX. Paris 1880, p. 352.
118. Jacoubet, *op. cit.* p. 97.
119. Jacoubet, *op. cit.* 178.
120. Jacoubet, *op. cit.*
121. 'Journal Étranger', Jan. 1778, p. 278. quoted. Jacoubet
op. cit. p. 182.
122. Jacoubet, *op. cit.* 159 ff.
Broglie, *op. cit.* Montfaucon, I, 105 ff.
123. 'Discours prononcés dans l'Académie Française, le lundi
26 Juin 1758, à la réception de M. de la curie de Sainte
Palaye', Paris 1758.
124. It was then translated into English, Polish and German.
125. *op. cit.* I, preface.
126. Horace Walpole's annotated copy of this book is in the
British Museum.
127. His 'Dictionnaire des Antiquités Françaises' in forty
folio volumes was never published, but his 'Glossaire
de l'ancienne langue française' was printed in 1875.
128. cf. René Lanson 'Le Goût du Moyen Âge en France au XVIII^e
siècle'. Paris 1926, - a useful, but maddeningly incomplete
and inaccurate book.
129. Jacoubet, *op. cit.* 111 ff.
Jean Locquin 'La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747
à 1785', Paris 1912 - an excellent and reliable study.
130. Locquin, *op. cit.* 170. Jacoubet, p. 182.
131. Locquin, *op. cit.* 170.



132. Locquin, op. cit. 89.
133. Locquin, op. cit. 50.
134. Locquin, op. cit. 209.
135. Locquin, op. cit. 51.
136. cf. Thieme Becker and 'Collection des livrets des Anciennes Expositions'.
137. cf. Thieme Becker and 'Collection des livrets des Anciennes Expositions'.
138. cf. Georges Cucul, op. cit. and Max Aghiou, op. cit.
139. Locquin, op. cit. p. 160 ff.
140. J. Walter 'La cathédrale de Strasbourg', Paris 1933, p.18. an earlier mock-gothic addition to a church was the choir of the church of Marmontier, decorated in 1769, cf. Hug 'La Renaissance de l'art français', Paris 1926, p.394.
141. Lubersac 'Discours sur les monuments publics' Paris 1775, p. LVIII ff.
cf. also 'Journal de Paris', 23rd Aug. 1780, for an article by the architect Bonnard and his son, on Notre Dame, and on the gothic revival.
René Le Prince, le jeune 'Remarques sur l'état des Arts dans le Moyen Age'. Paris 1782, p. 9 ff; this pamphlet appeared originally as separate articles in the 'Journal des Savants' during 1779 - 1782.
142. J. Krafft. 'Recueil d'Architecture civile', revised edition, Paris 1829, p.32.
143. Krafft, op. cit. pl. 53.
144. cf. J. Ch. Krafft 'Recueil des plus beaux momumens, anciens et modernes', Paris 1812.
J. Ch. Krafft, 'Recueil des plus beaux jardins pittoresque de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne', I, Paris 1809, II, Paris 1810.
J.Ch. Krafft and N. Ransonnette 'Plans, Coupes, Elevations des plus belles maisons et des hôtels construits à Paris et dans les environs', Paris, Ans IX et X.



145. Krafft and Ransonette, op. cit. pl. 47, built in 1786.
146. Krafft, op. cit. 'Recueil d'Arch. civile', pl. CXIV, CXIX.
147. Krafft, op. cit. 'Recueil d'Arch. civile', pl. XXXIII.
148. Krafft, op. cit. 'Recueil des Jardins Pittoresque' I, Pl. 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 44, 72, 84, 86. quotation Pl. 31. This garden, in Alsace, was laid out in 1787.
149. cf. also I.G. Grohmann 'Fragmens d'Architecture Gothique, ouvrage aussi interessant qu'utile et instructif pour les architectes et les amateurs de l'architecture.' Leipzig, - 1790.
cf. also A. Detournelle 'Projets d'architecture qui ont merite les grands prix', Paris 1802 - 1806.
150. Krafft, op. cit. 'Recueil d'Arch. civile', Pl. 81 by Courtrepee. cf. also Pl. 84.
151. Krafft and Ransonette op. cit. pl. 100, for Mme. Vanderborghe.
152. Krafft and Ransonette, op. cit. pl. 112 show the Paphos as it was originally built (1790): it was, however, redeccorated internally in the gothic style at some later date. J. H. L. Durand 'Vues des Principaux Bâtimens de Paris', Paris 1789 Pl. 1.2. 'Wauhall d'Ete, Boulevard St. Martin.'
153. Hauteceour, op. cit. V 310, 391 mentions the 'gothic facade and interior of the Theatre du Marais, but he appears to be quoting from P. Benoît, op. cit. p. 280, 282, 283, who illustrates the facade and the interior with execrable line drawings, and dates them incorrectly as 1790. The correct date is 1791, cf. Max Aghion, op.cit. 350, the theatre, in the rue Culture Sainte Catherine was re-opened on 1st September 1791.
154. P. Benoît op. cit. p. 222 n.l. records that the Ambigue Comique was decorated in the gothic style in 1770. This is incorrect. cf. Max Aghion, op. cit. p. 270 - the theatre, newly decorated for Audinot by Cellerier, in the gothic style, was opened on 15th July 1786.



155. cf. Max Aghiou, op.cit. 268 - 70 - also mentioned in 'Le Voyageur à Paris', Paris An. VIII.
156. John Summerson. 'Georgian London', London, 1945, Pl. LXXV.
157. cf. Lelong and Fontenette, op.cit.
A. Girault de St. Borgeau 'Bibliographie historique et topographique de la France, Paris 1845.
Among the more important guide books of the late eighteenth century are:
P. Daire 'Histoire de la Ville d'Amiens', Paris 1757.
'Description historique et chronologique de l'église métropolitaine de Paris', Paris 1757.
G.P. Gueffier (pseudym. for Guillot de Monjoye, a canon at Notre Dame) 'Description historique des curiosités de l'église de Paris', Paris 1763.
Figniol de la Force 'Description de la ville de Paris et ses environs', Paris 1735. 9 volumes.
Deverite 'Histoire du Comte de Ponthieu de Montreuil et d'Abbeville', Paris 1767.
Charpentier 'Description historique et chronologique de l'église métropolitaine de Paris' in fol. 1767. Paris (only one volume of the proposed two was issued.)
l'Abbe Morand 'Histoire de la Sainte Chapelle royale du palais de justice'. Paris 1770. 4°.
M. Poucelin. 'Histoire civile, ecclésiastique, physique et littéraire de Paris'. Paris 1780.
Abbe Philippe André Grandidier 'Essai Historique et topographique sur l'église cathédrale de Strasbourg', in 8°, 1777 - 1782.
Guillaume Doyen 'Histoire de la ville de Chartres'. 2 vols. gr.fol. 1786.
Thierry 'Guide des étrangers voyageurs à Paris', 1787.
Fr. Miller 'Description de la fameuse cathédrale de Strasbourg', 1788. (probably a revision of Bohm's books.)
158. M.A. Laugier 'Essai sur l'Architecture', Paris 1753. 1st edition. 1755 2nd edition, p.3.
159. op. cit. p. 174.



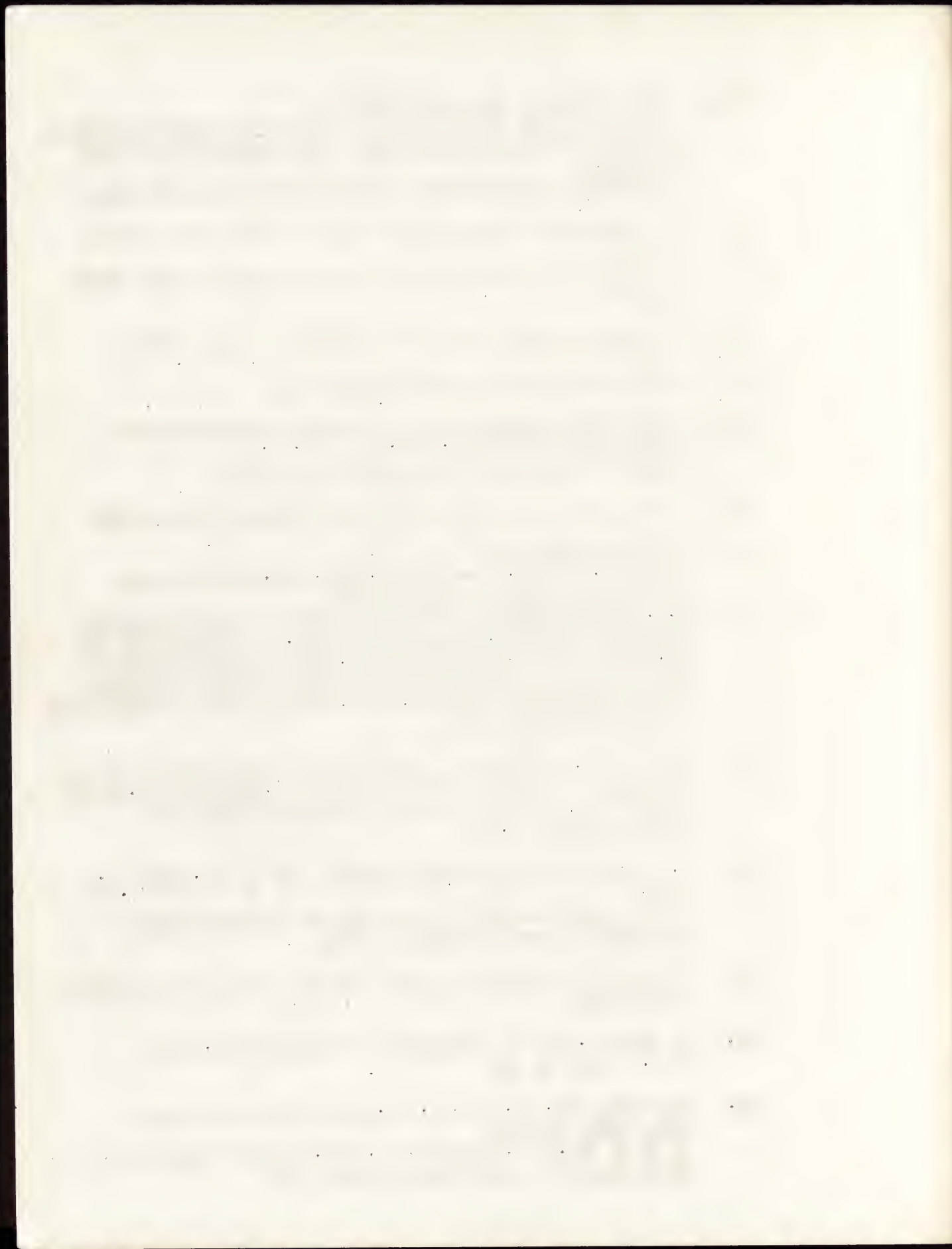
160. These articles, published anonymously, appeared in the 'Mémoires de Trévoux' - Oct. 1758 p.2456; Oct. 1758, 2534; Nov.1758, 2743; Feb. 1759, 438; March 1759, 604; April 1759, 806; May 1759, 1245; July 1759, 1577; Aug. 1759, 2054; Oct. 1759, 2574; Jan. 1760, 38; Jan. 1760, 330; April 1760, 1015; July 1760, 1647; Sept. 1760, 2138; Nov. 1760, 811; Dec.1760, 2957.
161. A second edition was printed in Paris in 1775.
162. Reynaud, op.cit. p. 126 ff.
 Alice Killen 'Le Roman terrifiant ou Roman Noir', Paris 1924.
 Van Tieghem, 'Ossian en France', 1916.
 Van Tieghem, 'La Poesie de la Nuit et des Tombeaux en Europe au XVIII^e siècle' - 'Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique'. 2^e série, 1921 vol. XVI.
163. Pierre Martino 'L'Époque Romantique en France, 1815 - 30', Paris 1944, p.26.
164. Millin, op. cit. I, 10.
165. Millin, op. cit. III, 15.
166. Millin, op. cit. II, section XIX.
167. cf. Henry Adams 'Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres'. Constable. London, 1950, p. 55 - 59.
168. Millin, op. cit. section XIX, p.8.
169. Pingre, mentioned by Millin, is impossible to trace, but he is probably to be identified with Jean Claude Pingeron ± 1730 - 1795, who wrote a number of books and articles, esp. 'Vie des Architectes anciens et modernes qui se sont rendus célèbres chez les différentes nations' a translation of Fr. Milizia's work. 2 vols. Paris 1771. - he is mentioned by Viel in connection with gothic architecture, cf. C.F.Viel 'Principes de l'Ordonnance et de la Construction', Paris 1797 - 1814, where he quotes an article in the 'Année Littéraire' Vol. VII, lettre XVII, p. 348, Paris, 1781.
170. Millin, op. cit. section XIX, p.9.



171. Millin, op.cit. Vol. XVII, 1797. p.416 ff. - 'De l'influence de la nature, des moeurs et des gouvernemens sur l'architecture. Discours lu dans la séance publique de la Société libre des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Paris.' 9 Nivoise an. VI by Ponce.
172. op. cit. XVII, p.418 - Millin added the footnote - 'Les plus anciens bâtimens qu l'on conoisse en France et en Angleterre attribués aux Gaulois et aux Bretons n'ont pas ce luxe de petites colonnes, ce qui rend, selon moi, l'observation de l'auteur plus originale et poetique que juste et vraie'.
173. cf. esp. Paul Léon 'La vie des monuments français', Paris 1951.
Paul Léon 'Les Monuments historiques', Paris 1917.
F. Rucker 'Les Origines de la Conservation en France, 1790 - 1830', Paris, 1913.
E. Despois 'Le Vandalisme', Paris, 1868.
174. cf. Annales Archeologiques', III, p.292; IV p.61 - two letters on the subject by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc.
175. cf. 'Collection des Livrets des Anciennes Expositions. Salon 1800', Paris 1872, 516.
176. Louis Courajod 'Alexandre Lenoir - son Journal et le musée des monuments français', Paris 1878, I; 1886, II.
177. cf. Livrets des Salons, op. cit. Salon 1800, 422.
178. cf. 'Magazin Encyclopedique', XIV, 1797, p.431 ff; X, 1796, p.94.
179. For a list of the catalogues cf. Courajod, op.cit. II, 8 and Bibliography.
Alexandre Lenoir 'Collection des Monumens de sculpture réunis au Musée des Monumens Français', Paris An.VII.
Alexandre Lenoir 'Musée des Monumens Français ou Description Historique et chronologique des statues en marbre et en bronze ... pour servir à l'histoire de France et à celle de l'Art'. Paris, 1800 - 21. The first volume was translated into English in 1803, by J. Griffiths.
180. Lenoir, op. cit. III, 1802, p.3 - 8.



181. He wrote 'La Franche-maçonnerie rendue à sa véritable origine, ou l'Antiquité de la Franche-maçonnerie prouvée par l'explication des mystères anciens et modernes'.
182. Lenoir, op. cit. III, 1802, p.8.
183. A. Lenoir, op. cit. 'Musée des Monuments Français', III, Paris 1802, p. 8 footnote.
184. 'Magazin Encyclopédique', XXXVI, 1800, p. 76 ff.
185. 'Rapport au Conseil Général'. 15 Thermidor An.VIII.
186. Annales Archeologiques. XII. 1852, p.18.
187. Michelet 'Histoire de la Révolution'. VI, p.117.
188. cf. for a list of some of the paintings of Lenoir's museum Livrets des Salons, op.cit. 1796, no. 61, 62; 1799, no. 68; An. IX, 157; An. XII, 514.
189. J.E.Biet and Normand père et fils 'Souvenirs du Musée des Monuments Français'. Paris, 1821 - 26.
cf. also Réville, Lavalée and B. de Roquefort 'Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des Monuments français', Paris, 1816.
190. Alice Poirier 'Les Idées artistiques de Chateaubriand', Paris 1930.
Joan Evans 'Chateaubriand, a biography', London 1939.
191. Chateaubriand, op. cit. 8th edition, Paris 1823 - all quotations are taken from Vol. III, bk. I, chap. III, p. 30 - 34 'Des églises gothiques' or from Vol. III, bk.V, chap. V, p.200 - 203, 'Ruines de Monuments Chrétiens'.
192. Chateaubriand - 'Oeuvres complètes', 'Etudes historiques', preface p. xix.
193. quoted Alice Poirier, op. cit. p. 122.
194. Chandler B. Beall 'Chateaubriand et le Tasse', Baltimore, 1934.
195. Alice Poirier, op. cit. p. 79.
196. Jacoubet, op. cit. Reynaud, op. cit. Pierre Martino, op. cit.



197. Landon 'Annales du Musée' 1803 ff.
Friedrich Antal 'Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism'.
Burlington Magazine, Apr'l 1935, March 1936, Sept. 1940,
Dec. 1940.
Walter Friedlaender 'David to Delacroix', Harvard 1952.
198. E. Delécluze 'Souvenirs de Soixante Années', Paris 1862,
p. 48.
E. Delécluze 'David, son école et son temps', Paris 1855,
p. 217 ff.
199. cf. esp. Chausard 'Pausanias Français', Paris 1806.
200. quoted Hauteceur, op.cit. VI, p. 279.
201. Agnes Mongan 'Ingres and the Antique' Journal of the
Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. X.
Georges Wildenstein, 'Ingres', London, 1954.
202. 'L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin', Paris, 1813, p. 180.
203. J. Krafft, op.cit.
H. Lefuel, 'Boutiques Parisiennes du Premier Empire'.
Hauteceur, op.cit. V, 309 - 313.
F. Benoit, op.cit. p. 279 - 284 - most of the information
contained in these pages is inaccurate, some mistakes are
pointed out, in notes 150 and 151, but the most glaring
is the dating of 'La Maison Gothique' as 1811, cf. Haute-
ceur, Vol. VI, p. 306 - 307 - although in Vol. V Hauteceur
accepted Benoit's date.
204. J. B. Legrand 'Histoire générale de l'architecture', Paris,
1809 p. 17 cf. also Millin 'De l'introduction en France de
l'architecture arabe appelée improprement Gothique'
Moniteur Feb. 3 1809.
205. cf. Girault de St. Fargeau, op.cit. and U. Chevalier, op.
cit.
U. Chevalier, 'Histoire de Chartres et l'ancienne pays
Chartrain', 2 vols. Chartres, 1802.
206. Willemm's illustrations are, for the most part, taken from
Caignieren.
207. G. Montalembert 'Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme',
Paris, 1839, p. 54.
208. Ch. Cerf, 'Histoire et Description de N.D. de Reims',
Reims 1861, I, 265.
A. P. M. Gilbert 'Description Historique de l'Eglise de
Notre Dame de Reims', Reims, 1825, p. 6.



209. S. McKnight Crosby, op. cit. p. 5 ff.
210. A.L. Millin 'Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts', Paris 1806, I, p. 70.
211. Magazin Encyclopédique, Nov. 1811 on Notre Dame de Paris; Jan. 1812 on mediaeval legends; June and July 1812 on Notre Dame de Chartres; 1815 on Notre Dame de Paris, the bas-reliefs.
212. republished 1821.
213. republished 1824.
214. op. cit. 211, cf. also 160.
215. 'Description Historique de l'église métropolitaine de Notre Dame de Rouen', Rouen 1816; 2nd edition 1837.
'Description Historique de l'église métropolitaine de Notre Dame de Reims', Reims, 1817; 2nd edition 1825.
'Description Historique de l'église de St. Ouen de Rouen', Rouen 1822.
'Notice Historique et Descriptif de l'Eglise Cathédrale de St. Pierre de Beauvais', Beauvais, 1829.
'Description Historique de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Notre Dame d'Amiens', Amiens, 1833.
'Description Historique de l'Eglise de l'Ancienne Abbaye Royale de St. Riquier en Ponthieu suivie d'une notice historique et descriptif de l'église de St. Wulfram d'Abbeville', Amiens, 1836.
216. Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 33 ff.
217. 'Eccesiology' it should be added was once again then foreshadowed. J.A. Cousain in 'Du Génie de l'Architecture, oeuvre ayant pour but de Rendre cet Art accessible au Sentiment Commun', published in Paris in 1822, wrote of Notre Dame - 'A l'intérieur il sera également frappé par l'effet de l'unité, de la profondeur, et par la belle disposition de plan. Il se sentira comme enveloppé par l'oeuvre mystérieuse de la piete qui l'avertira, de suite, qu'il est dans la demeure de la Divinite'.



218. The most concise and the most useful account of the archaeological movement in Normandy is contained in Arcisse de Caumont's 'Cours', Vol. IV, Paris 1831, Chapter II. Most of the important books of the period are commented on, and the importance of English influence is frankly admitted.
cf. also Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 42 ff.
219. On Ducarel's. Jean Evans 'A History of the Society of Antiquaries', Oxford, 1956.
220. Hauteceur, op. cit V, 270.
221. Caumont, op. cit. IV, 21 - 22.
222. Caumont, op. cit. IV, 22.
Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 42.
223. Caumont, op. cit. IV, 23, n.l.
224. cf. Dawson Turner, op. cit. preface.
225. Laborde, op. cit. I, 26.
cf. also Emeric David 'Histoire de la sculpture française', Paris 1817.
226. cf. also Constant Bourgeois 'Vues pittoresques de la France', Paris 1826.
227. cf. on Hyacinthe Langlois - Hyacinthe Langlois 'Stalles de la Cathédrale de Rouen', Rouen 1838, which contains an account of his life and work, written by Charles Richard.
228. op. cit. introduction.
229. That Boisseree had already advanced this theory in France in 1822, in the 'Revue Encyclopédique', in an article 'Mémoire sur l'architecture du moyen âge' did not diminish the vigour of the attack launched on his book by patriotically minded archaeologists.
230. cf. Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. 42 ff.
231. cf. Caumont, op. cit. N. 27, 28.



232. Robillard de Beaurepaire 'M. de Caumont, sa vie et ses oeuvres', Caen, 1874.
233. 'Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge, particulièrement en Normandie, communiqué à la Société d'émulation de Caen en Décembre 1823, lu à la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie le 3 mai 1824' it was published as a separate pamphlet in 1824 and in 1825 in the 'Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie', p. 535 - 677.
234. M. A. Delville 'Essai historique et descriptif sur l'église de l'Abbaye de St. Georges de Bocherville', Rouen 1827.
G. A. Deshayes 'Histoire de Jumièges', Rouen 1829.
235. Caumont, op. cit. I. introduction.
236. G. P. Gooch 'History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century', London 1913. 2nd edition, revised, London 1952.
Edward Wilson 'To the Finland Station', New York, 1940.
237. cf. Mignet 'Notices et Mémoires historiques', Vol. I and 'Réponse à M. Flourens'.
Sainte Beuve, 'Causeries de Lundi', VII.
Gooch, op. cit. 157.
238. Galley 'Fauriel', Paris 1909.
Gooch, op. cit. 158.
239. cf. Mignet 'Portraits et Notices historiques', I.
Sainte Beuve, 'Causeries du Lundi', V.
240. cf. on Thierry. 'Renan 'Essais Morale et Critique', Paris, 1857.
Brunetieres in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes', Nov. 15th, 1895.
Georges Valentin 'Augustin Thierry', Paris 1895.
K.J. Carroll, 'Some aspects of the historical thought of Augustin Thierry', 1931.
Gooch, op. cit. 163 - 166.
241. cf. L. Maigron 'Le Roman historique à l'époque Romantique: Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott', Paris 1898.
Scott's influence was felt first in 1816, but the popular translations of his novels by Defaucaupret did not appear until 1820.



242. cf. Guizot, 'M. de Berante', Paris 1867.
Sainte Beuve 'Portraits Contemporains', Vol. IV.
Gooch, op. cit. 166 - 168.
243. Gooch, op. cit. quoted p. 167.
244. cf. Monod 'Renan, Taine, Michelet', Paris 1894.
Jules Simon 'Mignet, Michelet, Henri Martin', Paris 1890.
Faguet 'Le dix-neuvième siècle'.
Gooch, op. cit. 168 - 177.
Wilson, op. cit. Chap. I - V.
245. Petit 'François Mignet' Paris 1889.
Jules Simon, op. cit.
Gooch, op. cit. 184 - 189.
246. Jules Simon 'Thiers, Guizot, Rémusat', Paris 1885.
Faguet 'Politiques et Moralistes' I.
E. L. Woodward 'Three studies in European conservatism:
Metternich, Guizot, the catholic church in the nineteenth
century', London 1929.
Ch. H. Pouthas, 'Guizot pendant la Restauration', Paris 1923
Bardoux, 'Guizot'.
Gooch, op. cit. 178 - 184.
247. cf. Description of Revoil's collection in A.L. Millin
'Voyage de Paris à Lyon', Paris 1811.
248. cf. Gabillot, 'La Cathédrale de Sées'.
P. Chirol, 'J. A. Alavoine', Rouen 1920.
Hautecoeur, op. cit. VI, 289.
Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 257.
249. quoted Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 257.
250. cf. also the fanciful restoration of the side chapels
of Notre Dame, carried out in 1825, described by A.L.
Jusson 'Spécimen d'Architecture Gothique,' Paris 1839,
Pl. 15 - 17.
251. cf. note 234.
252. Théophile Gautier 'Mademoiselle de Maupin', Paris
1834, preface.
253. Hugo, op. cit. 1832, edition, preface.



254. The most important chapters on gothic architecture are those in book III, entitled 'Notre Dame', and 'Paris', à vol d'oiseau' and that in book V, 'Ceci tuera cela'.
255. op. cit. Bk. III, Ch. II.
256. op. cit. Bk. V, Ch. II. 'Ceci tuera cela'.
257. cf. H. J. Hunt 'Le Socialisme et le Romantisme en France', Oxford, 1935, p. 3 - 9.
258. op. cit. Bk. V, Ch. II and preface 1832 edition.
259. op. cit. Bk. V, Ch. II.
260. op. cit. 1832 edition, preface.
261. cf. Nouvelle Biographie Universelle and Paul Léon, op.cit. 'La vie ...' etc.
262. cf. Didron 'Episode d'un voyage en Normandie pendant l'été 1831', Paris 1831.
cf. 'Oeuvres de M. le Comte de Montalembert, Paris, 1861.
263. P. de Lalland 'Montalembert et ses relations littéraires avec l'étranger j'usqu'en 1840', Paris, 1927.
P. de Lalland 'Montalembert et ses amis dans le Romantisme 1830 - 1840', Paris 1927.
264. quoted Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis ...' p. 308.
Montalembert wrote two articles in 'l'Avenir' on 'Notre Dame de Paris', one on the 11th April 1831, the other on 28th April 1831.
265. cf. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis...', p.120.
266. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis...' p.122.
267. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis...', p.124.
Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses relations...', p. 16 - 18.
268. cf. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis...' 194 - quotes a letter, 1st Sept. 1831, from Lacordaire to Montalembert - 'J'étais à Orléans hier matin. J'ai visité le pont sur la Loire et la cathédrale d'où j'ai vu toute la ville. Pour la première fois, j'ai un peu cherché à comprendre l'architecture gothique, et je suis sorti plus savant que je n'étais. Je crois avoir un peu compris'.
cf. also p. 336.

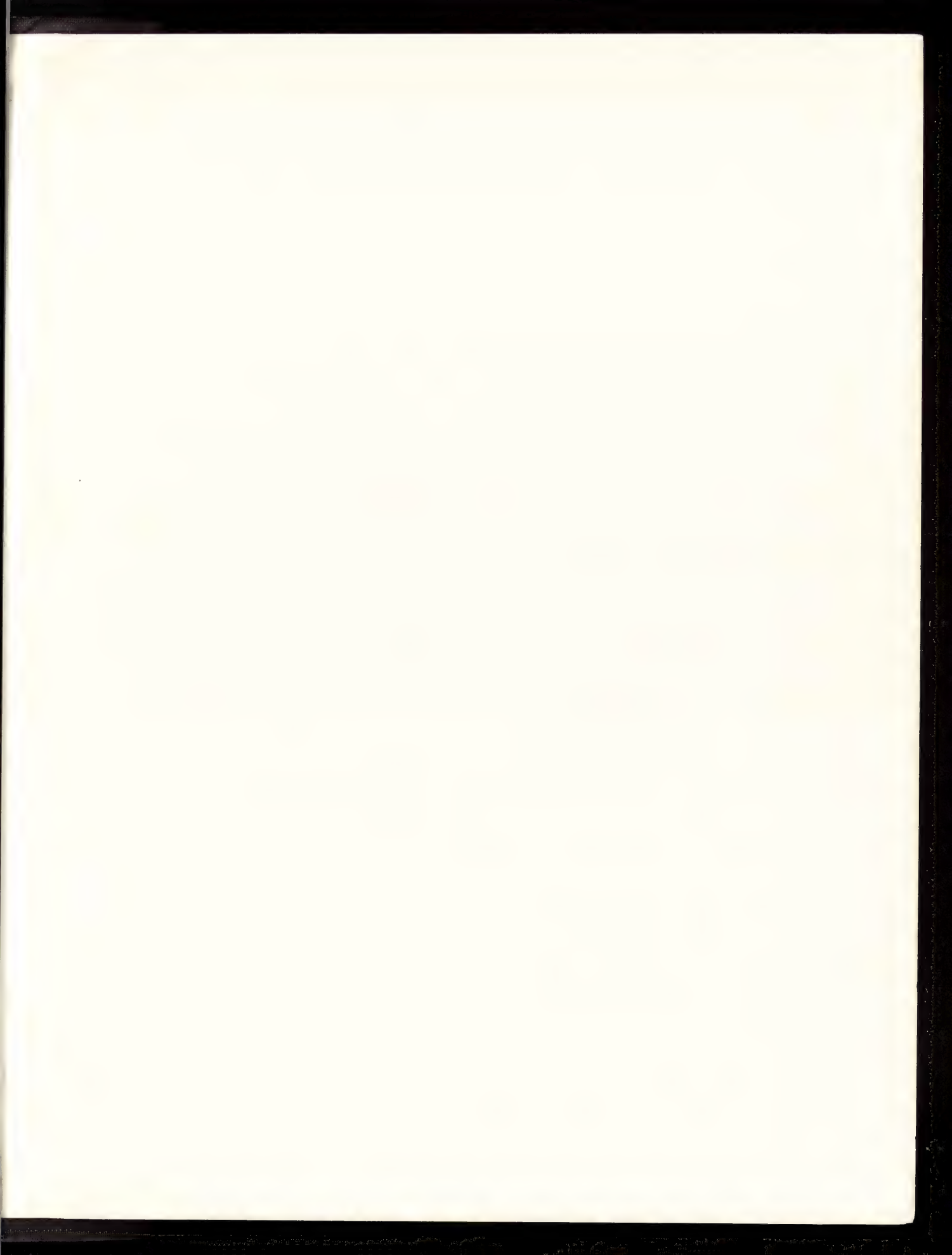


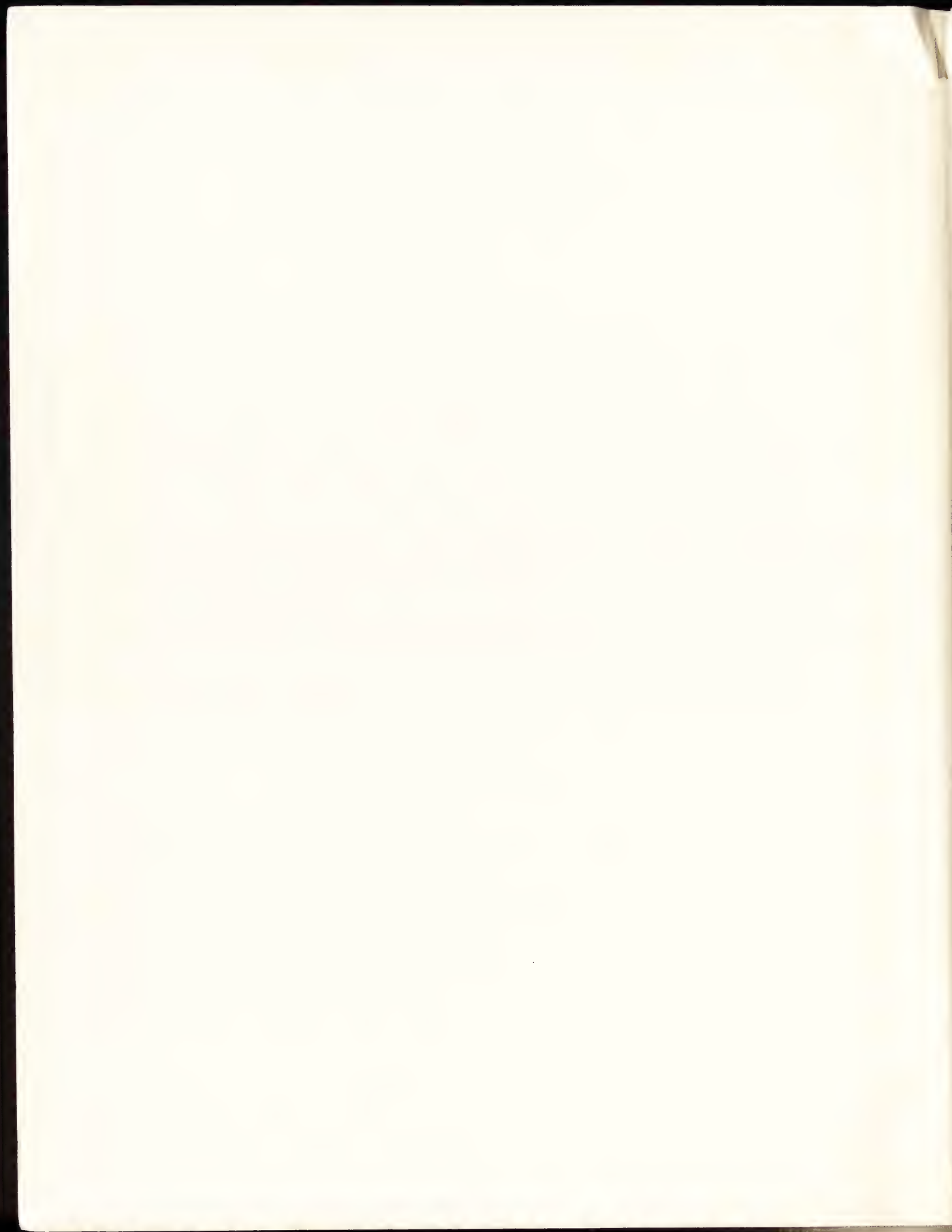
269. cf. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses relations...', p. 69 ff.
270. cf. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses relations ...', p. 65 ff.
cf. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses amis...', Chap. XI,
for an excellent account of Rio's life and activity
though the best source is Mary Camille Bowe's 'Francois
Rio, sa place dans le renouveau catholique en Europe
1797 - 1874', Paris 1939.
271. cf. Rio 'Epilogue à l'Art Chrétien', Vol. II, p. 246 - 247.
272. Rio, at Montalembert's instigation, recognized Giotto
as the founder of the school of Italian Renaissance
painting, rather than Cimabue who was, at that time,
considered to be the great innovator - cf. Alex. Lenoir,
op. cit. 'Musée des Monuments Français', I, Paris 1800, p. 37 -
for Rio, Cimabue was the last of the Byzantines. Yet
Montalembert, paradoxically enough, did not feel that
Rio had done full justice to Giotto - 'Rio fait bonne
justice de la réputation exagérée de Cimabue,' wrote
Montalembert, 'qui a passé longtemps pour le régénérateur
de l'art, et que les feuilletonistes ecclésiastiques de nos
jours se résignent quelquefois à citer comme un grand
génie. C'est à Giotto qu'appartient plus justement le
titre de régénérateur... (Du vandalisme et du Catholicisme
dans l'art. Paris, 1839, p. 84 - reprinted from
Montalembert's review in l'Université Catholique, July
1837). Later on, however, Montalembert remarks - 'Les
travaux de Giotto à Padoue, trop légèrement appréciés
par M. Rio - (op. cit. 119.)
cf. also Francis Steegmüller 'A Missionary of old pictures -
the Jarves collection at Yale University'. Perspectives,
Number Seven, Spring 1954, p. 111 ff.
Francis Steegmüller: 'The two lives of Jackson Jarves',
New Haven, 1951.
Lionello Venturi 'Il Gusto dei primitivi', Bologna, 1926.
273. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn 'The Works of John Ruskin',
London, 1912, XXXV, 340, XXXVI, 131. Lord Lindsay's
'Progression by Antagonism', the English profession of
faith in Christian Art, was not printed until 1846,
and was not published in book form until 1847.
274. Lalland, op. cit. 'M. et ses relations ...', p. 70.



275. 1st March 1833.
276. This article was republished in Montalembert's 'Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art', Paris 1839, p.2.
277. cf. Paul Léon, op. cit.
Rucker, op. cit.
Channes 'Le Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques', Paris 1886, 3 vol.
278. Guizot 'M. Vitet, sa vie, ses oeuvres'. Revue des deux Mondes. 1 March 1874.
279. Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. p. 53.
280. Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. 63.
281. cf. Pierre Trahard 'Prosper Mérimée, sa jeunesse'. Paris, 1924. 'Prosper Mérimée de 1834 à 1853', Paris, 1928. 'La Vieillesse de Prosper Mérimée, 1854 - 1870', Paris 1930. 'Lettres de Prosper Mérimée à Viollet-le-Duc', Paris 1927. Pierre Trahard and P. Jossierand 'Bibliographie des oeuvres de P. Mérimée', Paris 1929.
282. Trahard, op. cit. P. M. jeunesse, p. 677.
283. Trahard, op. cit. P. M., 1834 - 53 p. 1.
284. Trahard, op. cit. P. M. 1834 - 53, p. 21, n.5.
285. Paul Léon, op. cit. Mons. Hist. 63.
286. Trahard, op. cit. 1834 - 53, p. 3.
287. Trahard, op. cit. 1834 - 53, p. 3.
288. Trahard, op. cit. P. M. 1834 - 53, p. 4.
289. Trahard, op. cit. P. M. 1834 - 53, p. 5.
290. Trahard, op. cit. P. M. 1834 - 53, p. 6.
291. Louis Courajod, op. cit. II, p.14.









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